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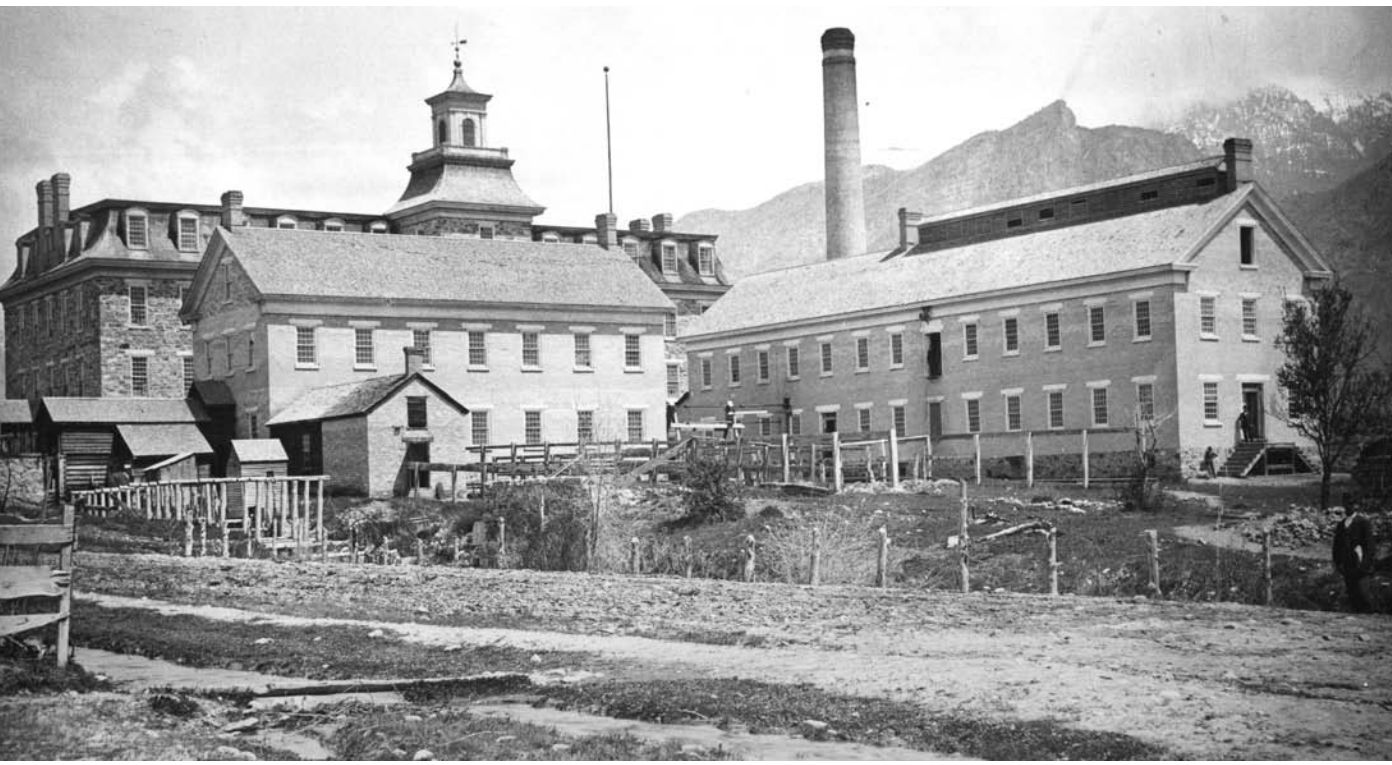

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In November 1911 voters in the small town of Kanab did the unheard of by electing an all woman town council and mayor. The election coming a decade and a half after the state constitution granted women in Utah the right to vote, was considered by many an important manifestation of the growing success of the suffrage movement in the United States that would carry forward to the passage of a constitutional amendment granting all women the right to vote. The selection of an all woman town council, one of the most unusual local elections in American history, introduced a radical, but plausible, democratic principle going beyond the right to vote for women and extending to them the right to govern. Were the five women elected on November 7, 1911, to the Kanab town council heroines of the American suffrage movement and did their election spur the movement onward to even greater success? Or were there other motives and forces responsible for their election? Our first article in this last issue for 2005 holds some stimulating surprises.

Moving from the far southern part of the state to northern Utah, our second article offers a brief history of the Cache National Forest. By 1902, contaminated drinking water, overgrazing and its accompanying erosion and flooding, excessive timber harvesting, as well as other environmental concerns led Cache Valley residents to conclude that the nearby mountains

could only be protected through federal government designation of the valuable land as part of the National Forest Reserve system. The process moved quickly and on May 29, 1903, Republican President Theodore Roosevelt, in a major speech delivered in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, announced that later in the day he would sign a proclamation to establish the Logan Forest Reserve—which later became the Cache National Forest. Our second article summarizes the important events that led to the establishment of the Cache National Forest and provides an overview of the Forest's one hundred year history.

Perhaps the most intriguing reason for our fascination with history is grounded in our quest to understand why people do the things that they do. The reasons can be simple or complex and multidimensional and can be found in a dictionary of words ranging from love, compassion, selflessness, and duty to a quest for power and wealth often made malignant by greed, envy, and hate. Our third article looks at a well-known individual in Utah history—Thomas L. Kane, and his role as a peacemaker during the confrontation between Utahns and the federal government known as the Utah War. As we see, the nineteenth century "cult of honor" that helped secure peace in Utah did have a violent and combative side as well.

Critical to the success of Mormon colonization in the American West was the establishment of a viable economic system that was compatible with the arid western climate, available natural resources, the remoteness of the land, and the religious and social values of those who moved into the mountains and valleys of Utah. Leonard J. Arrington's seminal study *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830 - 1900* has provided several generations of Utah history students with a valuable introduction and overview of the Mormon economic system in the context of the religious, political, and social issues that shaped nineteenth-century Utah. Our last article for 2005 examines the nineteenth-century Mormon economic experience by comparing it to economies of emerging twentieth century nations.

All of the articles in this issue continue to illustrate the rich tapestry of events, developments, ideas, and individuals that are Utah history.

***ON THE COVER:* W.S. Rust's Hotel Highway in Kanab was an important stop for travelers in southern Utah.** UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

***OPPOSITE:* The Provo Woolen Mill was one of the most significant industrial endeavors in pioneer Utah.** UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Kanab's All Woman Town Council, 1912-1914: Politics, Power Struggles, and Polygamy

By KYLIE NIELSON TURLEY

On November 7, 1911, the small town of Kanab, Utah, elected four women to the town council and another woman as town council chair, a position that doubled as mayor of Kanab. The election was supposed to be a joke, though who got the last laugh is debatable, since Mary Chamberlain, Tamar Hamblin, Luella McAllister, Blanche Hamblin and Vinnie Jepson (replaced by Ada Seegmiller) decided to take their seats on the council, give due diligence to their offices, and run the town. The women served as "trustees" (council members) for the years 1912 and 1913, passing eight ordinances and extending their influence to tidy up the town—arranging for the building of bridges and dikes and the platting of the local cemetery, as well as spon-

The Kanab All Woman Town Council elected November 7, 1911. From left to right: Luella McAllister, treasurer: Blanche Hamblin, councilor; Mary W. Howard Chamberlain, mayor; Tamar Hamblin, clerk; Ada Seegmiller, councilor.

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soring a cleanup day. At the conclusion of their term, Seegmiller ran and was re-elected to her office, though she resigned at the first meeting in 1914. Besides Seegmiller's brief re-election and resignation, none of the women ran for or held office after their stint on the city council, yet their short two-year term earned them a place in history.

The women elected to the Kanab town council in November 1911 were Mary Woolley Howard Chamberlain, Tamar Stewart Hamblin, Luella Atkin McAllister, Sarah Blanche Robinson Hamblin, and Vinnie Farnsworth Jepson. Vinnie Jepson resigned for undisclosed reasons at the first meeting of the new town board on January 2, 1912, and the remaining four women appointed Ada Pratt Seegmiller to fill Jepson's place. Filling out their staff with another woman, the female council voted in Caroline Roundy "as permanent Town Clerk" during the January 8 meeting. Roundy resigned as clerk sometime before the end of April and was paid $7.50 for her services.[1] After Roundy resigned, the female trustees did not appoint a new clerk, but, instead, relied on themselves; Tamar Hamblin served in a double capacity as trustee and clerk for the remainder of the term, and Luella McAllister served as trustee and treasurer.[2]

When Mary Elizabeth Woolley Chamberlain was elected chair of Kanab's town council, she was elected as "Mary Howard," a fact that has caused no small amount of confusion during the intervening century.[3]

[1] *Kanab (Utah) City Council Minutes, March 1884 to January 1920*. Microfilm Series 84960, Reel 1, November 13, 1911; January 2, 8, and April 22, 1912, Utah State Archives. Caroline Findlay married Lorenzo Hyrum Roundy on October 6, 1910, in Salt Lake City. Lorenzo died on May 3, 1911, and the couple's only child was born July 16, 1911, a son named Hyrum Lorenzo Roundy. Roundy supported herself and her son by teaching, a profession she had practiced before her marriage and one she continued after she moved from Kanab to Salt Lake City. Perhaps the death of her husband, the responsibility for a six-month-old baby, and her teaching duties at the Kanab Academy left Roundy no alternative but to resign as town clerk. See Adonis Findlay Robinson, *History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1970), 227, 230-31.

[2] Farel Chamberlain Kimball, comp. *Mary E. Woolley Chamberlain: Handmaiden of the Lord, An Autobiography* (privately published, 1981), 213. This book is a revised edition of Mary Elizabeth Woolley Chamberlain, *A Sketch of My Life* (privately published, 1936 [?]). Both volumes are available in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereinafter BYU Special Collections).

[3] The primary sources concerning the election use the false name of Mary W. Howard. In letters about her election to Anna H. King in the Utah State Legislature dated May 20, [1913], and to Susa Young Gates dated October 17, 1913, Mary Chamberlain used her pseudonym, Mary Howard. Both letters are in the Edwin Woolley Jr. and Erastus Snow Family Collection, BYU Special Collections. The letter to Gates was published under Mary Howard's name as "An Example of Women in Politics," *Improvement Era* 17 (July 1914): 865-68. Although some sources claim that the election was publicized widely at the time, I have found no mention of the election in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, or major national newspapers such as the *New York Times*, or any of the more than two thousand newspapers searched currently by www.ancestry.com. However, Chamberlain's *Handmaiden of the Lord* supports the notion that there was public notice of the election. She reports: "As soon as our election was published, we were besieged with letters from all over the country wanting to know all about it, how we managed, what we were doing, etc. and etc.," 213. While she could be referring to newspaper articles as yet un-located, she could be referring to the July 1914 *Improvement Era* article. Perhaps the idea that "English papers in London" published the event come from Susa Young Gates pamphlet "Utah Women in Politics" published in 1913. The pamphlet was written in response to a request from a group of women in England seeking to learn "…on how the extension of the ballot to them has affected politics and society." See Susa Young Gates, "Utah Women in Politics," (Salt Lake City: NP, 1913): 1, BYU Special Collections. Despite the confusion over the Howard appellation,

However, though primary sources refer to and are written by "Mary Howard," the name is actually a pseudonym for Chamberlain, a long time resident of Kanab living under an assumed name to escape persecution for polygamy. Mary Elizabeth Woolley was born in St. George, Utah, on January 31, 1870, the second child of Edwin Dilworth Woolley Jr. and Emma Geneva Bentley. Raised in Kane County, she went to school in Kanab, dated local boys, and learned the basics of pioneer economic, political, social, and religious life in southern Utah. After attending the LDS College in Salt Lake City, where she spoke on "woman's mission" during commencement in June 1891, she returned to Kanab, clerked at her father's mercantile store, and was elected as the first woman county clerk in Utah in 1896. She married Thomas Chamberlain in Mexico as his sixth wife on August 6, 1900, when she was thirty and Thomas was forty-six. The couple returned from Mexico to Kanab a month after their marriage. Mary continued to live as "Mary Woolley" and work as a clerk at the Bowman Store where Thomas was manager, having become part owner in 1897. Mary reports that she "resumed [her] work as usual until July 1901 when it became necessary for [her] to quit work and seek seclusion."[4] While the 1890 Manifesto by LDS church President Wilford Woodruff had announced an end to Mormon polygamous marriages in Utah and the Utah State Constitution adopted on the eve of Statehood in1896 had expressly prohibited polygamy, the practice of plural marriage did not end abruptly. Legal uncertainties and social turmoil complicated post-Manifesto polygamous marriages especially when children were the result. Consequently, Mary's pregnant condition required her to go into "hiding," which she did in Salt Lake City. She assumed a pseudonym, Mary "Thomas," and her first son, Royal Reward, Thomas Chamberlain's fiftieth child, was born February 3, 1902. After several different moves to avoid detection, Mary left for Mexico in June 1904, and there she again changed her name, this time adopting the pseudonym of "Mary Howard."[5] Mary's second and last child and Thomas's fifty-third child, Edwin Dilworth, was born on August 19, 1905.

In October 1907, Mary Chamberlain returned to live with her mother and father in Kanab. Mary recorded: "We felt comparatively safe, though we still went by the name of Howard, and while our husband and father visited us frequently and provided for us, we did not live together openly

some, at least, knew who Chamberlain was. In 1947, she and the members of the all-woman town board were invited to return to Kanab for the Centennial Celebration, an event reported in the *Kane County Standard,* June 13, 1947. When Chamberlain died in 1953, she was also clearly linked to the famous election with radio coverage and obituaries announcing that the "first woman mayor" had died." See: "Stairs Tumble Fatal to Utah Woman" *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 21, 1953; "1st Woman Mayor in Utah, U.S. Dies at Pocatello," *Deseret News and Telegram*, August 21, 1953; and "Utah Woman, 83, Former Mayor of Kanab, Dies," *Kane County Standard*, August 28, 1953.

[4] Annie C. Esplin and Francis A. Esplin. *One Hundred Years of Chamberlains: 1854-1954* (Privately published. 1954[?]) 167. Copy at the Kanab City Library.

[5] Kimball, *Handmaiden of the Lord*, 180, 194.

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Kanab in the early twentieth century.

until several years later."[6] Mary became active in the community, clerking in the Bowman Store and holding positions in church organizations. In the fall of 1911, four years after her return to Kanab, she moved across the street from her parents to a home owned by her husband. Her election as mayor occurred shortly after the move to her new home. Chamberlain explained in her autobiography that she "was elected under the name of Mary W. Howard, as I still went by that assumed name."[7]

She did not publicly acknowledge the Chamberlain name until 1916, four years after her election as mayor. However, some people in Kanab apparently suspected Mary's relationship with Thomas Chamberlain because Royal had "fought" schoolmates who had "dar[ed] to call him by that [Chamberlain] name."[8] Mary recorded the exact date she began using her real name:

> On Sunday, October 29, 1916, I asked the secretary of the Sunday School, Ila Hamblin, to change my name on the roll and call it that day, which she did. And I want to say right here that it was an embarrassing ordeal for all of us, and it took a lot of stamina to face the music. But I was more than thankful to have it over with and to be recognized as my real self, after living under an assumed name for sixteen long years."[9]

After Thomas Chamberlain died on March 17,1918, Mary supported herself and her two boys by selling homemade bread and cookies to

[6] Ibid., 204-205.

[7] Ibid., 213.

[8] Ibid. In the Kanab Town Council Minutes for November 13, 1911, in which the results of the November 7 election were recorded, there is a notation after Mary Howard's name that looks like a capital C.

[9] Kimball, *Handmaiden of the Lord*, 223.

tourists, taking in boarders, and marketing a line of ladies' hats. Her father died in 1920 and her mother in 1922, after which Mary moved to Provo and became a traveling sales representative for the Shaughnesy Knitting Company, selling their silk knit wear for years. She died on August 20, 1953, and was buried in the Kanab cemetery.

Records about the other women on this famous council are not as available or as comprehensive as those for Mary Chamberlain. Luella Maude Atkin McAllister was born February 25, 1885, in St. George, the daughter of Henry Tennyson Atkin and Sarah Jane Ellicock. She married Alma Leon "Leo" McAllister, a laborer, on December 31, 1909, almost three years after his first wife, Annie Elizabeth Lewis, died. Luella raised Donald Leon, Leo's son from his previous marriage, and gave birth to the first of her six children on September 24, 1910. Luella died September 12, 1960, and was buried in West Jordan, Utah.

Tamar Stewart Hamblin was born May 3, 1880, in Kanab, the daughter of William Thomas Stewart and Fannie Maria Little. Her mother died when Tamar was two and a half years of age and she and her two sisters were sent to live with an aunt, Mary Udall Stewart.[10] Tamar married Isaiah Hamblin on December 25, 1900, and the couple had eight children, three sons and five daughters. Though she did not take Dr. Ellis Shipp's nursing course when it was offered in Kanab in 1909, Tamar was one of the several practical nurses working in Kanab providing an indispensable service in the small settlement since doctors did not stay long.[11] Tamar nursed family and friends through illness and childbirth, delivering many of her grandchildren in her own home. She was very self-sufficient, a take-charge kind of person who was widely respected for her independence and concern for others.[12] One resident recalled that, "Tamar S. Hamblin was always on hand to help in many ways to promote the cultural aspects of the community. She will long be remembered as one frequently called upon to give tributes to persons being honored for some reason, and to write and read expressions of sympathy to those bereaved by the deaths of loved ones."[13] She wrote both poems and articles for these special occasions. She died May 11, 1961, and was buried in Kanab.

Sarah Blanche Robinson Hamblin was born October 2, 1873, in Pinto, Utah, the eleventh of Richard Smith Robinson and Elizabeth Wotton's thirteen children. Though she preferred to be called "Sarah," family and friends referred to her as "Blanche."[14] She married Walter Eugene Hamblin,

[10] Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 515.

[11] Elsie Chamberlain Carroll, *History of Kane County*, (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1960), 76.

[12] Verla Beckstrand, phone interview, April 20, 2005.

[13] Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 283.

[14] Louise Hamblin Haycock, "Life of Sarah Blanche Robinson Hamblin," *Walter Eugene and Blanche Robinson Hamblin and Their Descendents*, Helen Cram Starr, compiler, (Yorba Linda, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1992), 13.

son of Jacob Hamblin and Louisa Bonelli, on January 15, 1897, at age twenty-three. The couple had two daughters and four sons, and cared for Walter's elderly mother, who lived with them. Blanche was very attractive with beautiful brown eyes and dark brown hair. She was "thrifty, ambitious and scrupulously clean"; and, in accordance with her motto that "anything worth doing is worth doing well," her sewing was impeccable, as was her cooking and housework.[15] Blanche died on April 22, 1945, at age seventy-two and was buried in Kanab.

Vinnie Farnsworth Jepson, the first of Franklin Levi Farnsworth and Lovinnia Ann Johnson's eleven children, was born November 28, 1879. She married Lewis Jepson on December 24, 1897, in Kanab, Utah. The couple had three sons.[16] Vinnie died December 23, 1959, and was buried in Salt Lake City.

Ada Pratt Seegmiller, who was appointed to fill Vinnie Jepson's seat on the town board, was born May 19, 1881, in Toquerville, Utah, the child of Lorum Bishop Pratt and Frances Lane Theobald. Granddaughter to early church leader Orson Pratt, she married William West Seegmiller on July 31, 1899, in Kanab. Ada was the mother of five daughters and one son by the time she was appointed to the town council, and she gave birth to another son, Pratt, while in office. Later six more sons would increase the number of children to thirteen. Ada's personal political endeavors ended when she ran for re-election to the Kanab city council in 1913, won, then resigned at the first meeting in January 1914. However, she was very involved in her husband's successful campaigns for the Utah State Senate (two terms) and the Utah House of Representatives (four terms). Will Seegmiller also ran as the Republican candidate for governor in 1932. Ada sewed dresses, coats and trousers for the family, as well as curtains and other articles. She grew a large garden and canned fruit, vegetables, and meat for the family's use. The Seegmillers were very active in the LDS church, serving in many local callings and as mission presidents for the Western States Mission (1937-1941) and the Brazil Mission (1942-1945), working to assist in translating the Book of Mormon into Portuguese after they returned from Brazil.[17] Ada Seegmiller died July 21, 1961, and was buried in Kanab.

That these women knew and interacted with each other long before serving on the town council is clear. Some were related, others were neigh-

[15] Louise Hamblin Haycock, "Personal History of Louise Hamblin Haycock," in *Walter Eugene and Blanche Robinson Hamblin and Their Descendents*, 28.

[16] Though Vinnie Jepson resigned at the first meeting of the town council, her husband became active in municipal politics thereafter, serving on the town council and donating the use of the second story of the Jepson Building, also known as the Stockman's Store Building, for use as a high school for two years. On the first floor of the Jepson Building was a confectionary store, later transformed into a drug store for the town. Besides being involved with the schools and the movement for a public library, Lewis Jepson installed the first private electric light system in Kanab and built the town's first motion picture theater. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 154, 228, and 554.

[17] Robert E. Seegmiller, ed and comp., *Legacy of Eternal Worth: A Biographical History of The Seegmillers of North America*, (Provo: Creative Publications of Utah, 1997), 138.

bors, all had known each other for many years, and they were also all close in age. When they took office on January 2, 1912, Mary Chamberlain at forty-one was the oldest of the group, followed by Blanche thirty- eight, Vinnie thirty-two, Tamar thirty-one, Ada thirty, and Luella twenty-six. All had young children at home.

Various reasons have been offered to explain the election of the all-woman council in November 1911: men were too busy caring for their cattle and making a livelihood to serve; the women were upset at the ineffectiveness of previous all-male councils; and the men in Kanab were tired of listening to the women complain and were willing for them to take over governing the town. One historian concludes:

> By 1911, a group of citizens in the southern Utah community of Kanab became outraged with mismanagement by a male-dominated town board that refused to keep the streets clean or deal with problems such as gambling, stray cattle, and public drunkenness. Taking up the cause, a team of progressive women headed by Mary W. Chamberlain offered a slate for election to the town board. Though the men in the town sneered at their campaign, the women won the election and governed with determination.[18]

The election process was much more complicated than these opinions suggest as other factors were of greater importance. Mary Chamberlain's personal writings make it clear that she and the other women were not actively seeking political office and considered the election to be a prank. In her 1936 *Life Sketch* Chamberlain recorded:

> Our election was intended as a joke and no one thought seriously of it at the time. When election day dawned, there was no ticket in the field; no one seemed interested in the supervision of the town, so the loafers on the ditch bank (of which there were always plenty) proceeded to makeup the above ticket as a burlesque, but there was no other ticket in opposition, so, of course, we were elected.[19]

Her recollection of the farcical election coincides with her 1913 letter to Susa Young Gates, in which Chamberlain reported—in almost the exact same words—that "our election was intended as a joke and we all treated it as such."[20] In another letter in response to an inquiry from Utah State Representative Anna King, regarding the election, Mary wrote:

> Strange as it may seem, we had no campaign & were elected before we knew any thing about it. The conditions were about as follows[:] in these little towns there is not salary enough in any of the offices to justify men to devote their time to them and as their other work calls them away from home most of the time, the affairs of the town were often sadly neglected, so on the morning of Election Day 1911 the first three men at the polls suggested that they make up a ticket of women which they did, more as a burlesque than anything else, but we were every one elected by a large majority.[21]

[18] Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place. The Official Centennial History* (SLC: Gibbs Smith Publishers, 1995), 296. See also, Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 133.

[19] Chamberlain, *Sketch*, 131.

[20] Letter, Mary Howard to Mrs. Susa Y. Gates, October 17, 1913, in Edwin Woolley Jr. and Erastus Snow Family Collection, BYU Special Collections.

[21] Letter, Mary Howard to Anna H. King, May 20, [1913?] in Edwin Woolley Jr. and Erastus Snow

After the votes were counted, the women had serious reservations about assuming the offices to which they had been elected. However, with family encouragement and promises of support from leading men in the town, the women agreed to take office. Mary Chamberlain wrote that her father:

> …insisted that we take [the election] seriously and put the job over as he knew we could, and he would give us all the support and backing possible. Brother Chamberlain [her husband] also encouraged us and would not listen to our backing out. D. D. Rust, editor of the local paper, gave us a big write-up, which was full of confidence in our ability, etc., so, after due consideration and much debating, we decided to tackle the job and see what we could do.[22]

Unfortunately, Kanab's archived newspapers begin in 1929, so D. D. Rust's article is unavailable as are specific recollections from Thomas Chamberlain and Edwin D. Woolley. Mary Chamberlain's distinctly modest assertions—that she had nothing to do with the election, did not want to "qualify" for it and was only convinced by supportive men to take office—should probably be taken at face value. Sarah Blanche Hamblin's statement that all the women were "mothers of families—not ladies of leisure who needed politics for a hobby" also indicates a lack of involvement in the political process.[23] It does not seem likely that the November 1911 victory was a female protest movement.

Writing in 1913, Susa Young Gates concluded that the election grew out of a generational rather than gender conflict:

> A certain set of strong businessmen had dominated the town for many years. There grew up some restless youths who objected to this state of things. Now, this restless element, tired of the long reign of the older men, decided to turn a trick of their own, both to shame the city officials themselves and to put a face of ridicule on the whole matter. They chose a full municipal ticket—president, trustees, and all elective officers from the wives and daughters of the very men then in office.[24]

While the claim is interesting, it cannot be taken as strictly true. The town board in office during 1910-1912 included John F. Brown, president or chair, and William Crosby, Dr. A. J. Moir, and I. O. Brown, trustees (councilmen).[25] None of the previous town board members were husbands or fathers to the women elected in November 1911. However, Ada's husband (William W. Seegmiller), Mary's father (Edwin D. Woolley), and Mary's husband (Thomas Chamberlain) had been elected or appointed to various positions previously.[26] Moreover, Edwin D. Woolley, was serving as

Family Collection, BYU Special Collections. Anna Holden King of Salt Lake City was elected as a Republican to the Utah House of Representatives in 1912 and served from 1913 to 1915.

[22] Chamberlain, *Sketch*, 131.

[23] Haycock, "Life of Sarah Blanche," 13.

[24] Gates, "Utah Women in Politics," 14.

[25] *Kanab Town Council Minutes*, May 9, 1911.

[26] See Carroll, *History of Kane County*, 81-93. Tamar Stewart Hamblin's father had been appointed as town auditor in 1888, and was elected as a councilman in 1899. Mary Woolley Chamberlain's father was elected president of the Town Board in November 1897. In 1904, Thomas Chamberlain, Mary's husband, acted as clerk while the regular clerk was away. Ada Pratt Seegmiller's husband, William, was appointed to the town Health Board in 1910.

the president of the Kanab Stake, and owned the local mercantile store with Thomas Chamberlain.[27] Lewis Jepson and Walter Hamblin were stockholders in the Jepson Building.[28] Both Thomas Chamberlain and Daniel Seegmiller (Ada's father-in-law) had served as Woolley's counselors in the Kanab Stake presidency, and William W. Seegmiller was bishop of the Kanab Ward, a position he had held since 1905.[29] Luella's husband, Leo McAllister, was called as Will Seegmiller's second counselor on December 5, 1910.[30] That these husbands and fathers wielded broad-based, almost exclusive, ecclesiastical influence in Kanab is clear, though their presence in business and government does not seem overly represented in a small town of approximately nine-hundred residents. Nevertheless, that presence may have been strong enough to cause resentment in the young men of the town, as Susa Young Gates suggested.

If young male resentment was the cause, one must question why November 1911 was suddenly the moment for an event like the female election to occur. Though admittedly speculative, one historical controversy coincides precisely with the historical election and possibly could be the catalytic event upsetting Kanab's "young men." During the summer and fall of 1911, Kanab was embroiled in a simmering local newspaper dispute involving Charles H. Townsend who bought the nascent *Lone Cedar* newspaper in the summer of 1911 and soon drew criticism for his editorial policy. Three influential men—E. D. Woolley, William W. Seegmiller, and David D. Rust—took the lead in establishing an organization to buy the newspaper and change its name to the *Kane County News* with Rust, Mary Chamberlain's brother-in-law, as editor. The conflict continued when Townsend proceeded to establish another newspaper, *The Kane County Independent*, and the two papers engaged in an "intense rivalry," vying against each other in their "struggle for job printing, advertisements, and customer approval. The competition was very keen. The county came to be divided into bitter factions, each struggling ultimately for political control and satisfied public opinion."[31] Within months, Townsend was beaten; he gave up the fight and moved from Kanab while Rust continued, editing the surviving *Kane County News* until 1914, when he resigned and was replaced by Jack Borlase, a man brought to Kanab by W. W. Seegmiller to be

[27] Edwin Dilworth Woolley Jr. "Autobiography of Edwin Dilworth Woolley Jr.," Edwin Woolley Jr. and Erastus Snow Family Collection, BYU Special Collections, 8. The last two pages (including the page cited) of this autobiography seem to be written by someone other than Woolley himself. Woolley served for twenty-six years as stake president; and Kimball, *Handmaiden,* 105

[28] Haycock, "Walter Eugene Hamblin," in *Walter Eugene and Blanche Robinson Hamblin and Their Descendents*, 4.

[29] Daniel Seegmiller served as counselor in the Kanab Stake Presidency until his death on July 23, 1899. Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 203.

[30] List of Kanab bishoprics in the Edwin D. Woolley manuscript collection, Box 3, fd 12, and Edwin Woolley Jr. and Erastus Snow Family Collection, BYU Special Collections, 2.

[31] Robinson, *History of Kane County*, 253.

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A lady passes by a group of men "loafing" in front of a Kanab store, c. 1900.

editor.[32] The newspaper controversy offers an explanation of why the farcical election took place in November 1911, rather than some other year; why some young men suddenly became upset enough at the heavy-handed tactics of an entrenched older generation to cause a stir; why Mary Chamberlain was uncomfortable with an election that dragged her into the melee that involved her beloved father, brother-in-law and others; why daughters or wives of prominent men were placed on the ballot; and why Edwin Woolley and D. D. Rust felt they should pressure Mary Chamberlain and the other women to accept office and do a good job.

Despite evidence that the election was a prank pulled by young men and meant to mock the older men in town, the standard assumption of feminist action does have some after-the-fact credibility: Mary Chamberlain came to believe that women should be on the town boards. In 1914 she expressed the hope that other women would be selected to fill vacancies in the town board as women were "perfectly able to carry on the work; and, in fact, are better able, because the men are away from home most of the time looking after their sheep, cattle, etc., and the town is left without any supervision."[33] Although they felt successful in their endeavors and obviously believed women could and should participate in local politics, neither Mary Chamberlain, Luella McAllister, Tamar Hamblin or Blanche Hamblin sought re-election. Mary Chamberlain's son, Dee, later recalled that "people wanted them to run again, but they wouldn't. They were tired. They had to do all of their own work. They all had families. Mary only had two

[32] Unfortunately, none of these newspapers have survived. The *Kane County News* is extant beginning in 1929, the year when Rose Hamblin took over as editor.

[33] Howard, " An Example of Women in Politics," 865.

children, but the rest of them had big families."[34] Ada Pratt Seegmiller was the only woman to run for re-election; she ran for her council seat and was elected in November 1913. Perhaps she was merely proving a point, as she—following in the steps of her predecessor, Vinnie Jepson—resigned at the first meeting of the new council.[35]

The women took office on January 2, 1912, when "the old board surrendered the chair with good grace and expressed best wishes."[36] Once in office, the women demonstrated their independence and flexibility by abandoning the courthouse for meetings in favor of meetings in the comfort of their homes. Not all minutes record the meeting locations, but it appears that they met in Ada Seegmiller's home most often, then changed and met in Mary Howard's home from July 1913 until the end of their term. Some changes in venue were likely necessitated by the births of three different children during the two-year term. In her letter to Anna King, Chamberlain noted that "when any one is unable to leave her home we meet there."[37] Tamar Hamblin gave birth to a daughter, Tamar, on March 23, 1912, Ada Seegmiller's son, Pratt, was born on November 21, 1912, and daughter Venetia was born to Luella McAllister on March 5, 1913.[38]

The women met, possibly for only the second time, in the courthouse on January 2, 1914, to welcome the incoming board. Meetings for the all-woman town council typically began with prayer, and meetings were sometimes held on Sundays. As Chamberlain explained it in a letter to Susa Young Gates, "you will see that I haven't much leisure[.] in fact during this busy season we have had to hold a few of our Board meetings on Sunday after Sac. Meeting as it was im possible [sic] for us to get together any other time."[39]

Like their earlier male counterparts, the women on the town council may have held opposing viewpoints, though the minutes rarely record such incidents. Chamberlain obliquely wrote that the women "have always been united in our labors, have laid aside our personal feelings and always worked for the public good," indicating that "personal feelings" may have been different at times suggesting that differences of opinion were subjugated to the will of the majority.[40]

As a group, the women of Kanab's female council have been described, with good reason, as strong-minded, civic-minded, and entrepreneurial,

[34] Quoted in Loren Webb, "All-Woman Council had the Last Laugh," *The Spectrum*, May 26, 1996.

[35] *Kanab Town Council Minutes*, January 5, 1914. In what can only be seen as historic irony, Vinnie Jepson's husband, Lewis, was appointed by the new town board to replace Seegmiller. Jepson served on the town board for the 1914-1915 term.

[36] *Kanab Town Council Minutes*, January 2, 1912.

[37] Letter, Howard to King, 5.

[38] Verla Beckstrand, phone interview, April 20, 2005; Garth Seegmiller, telephone interview, March 29, 2005; and Venetia Anna McAllister," www.familysearch.org, accessed April 28, 2005.

[39] Letter, Mary Howard to Mrs. Susa Y. Gates, BYU collection. When the *Improvement Era* published this letter "in full," in July 1914 this line was cut.

[40] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

suggesting they governed with determination. They passed eight ordinances during their two-year tenure and enacted several other measures aimed at cleaning up the town. Getting right to work, the board passed an ordinance on February 23 regulating peddlers and traveling merchants by requiring them to pay a license tax of two dollars per day to do business in Kanab. A stiff one hundred dollar fine was levied on any person violating the measure.[41] In May 1912, the town board passed a measure regulating stray pets and livestock by impounding the animals until a fine was paid. If the money were not paid, the city would brand the livestock with an "S.U." and sell it, though there was a ninety-day period for the original owner to reclaim the animal after making full payment to the erstwhile owner.[42] That same month, the women outlawed flippers (slingshots) in Kanab and fined any lawbreaker twenty-five cents for the first offense and fifty cents for any subsequent offences.[43] The stray animal ordinance apparently did not fully solve the town's livestock problems, and a second livestock ordinance was passed on July 1, regulating stockyards followed by a dog leash law on July 29, 1912. Dog owners were also required to register their dogs and pay one dollar per year for each dog they owned.[44]

The women met sporadically for the rest of 1912, voting officially at the November 4 meeting to meet on the first Friday of every month or more often, if civic business was required.[45] By the end of November, they found a pressing reason to meet more often: the consumption of alcohol was for the town board its most serious problem. "The liquor evil," Mary Chamberlain wrote, "is a terror to our town."[46] Reflecting a national movement towards temperance, the council vigorously attacked alcohol sales with any means available to them. One initiative taken by the town council was to prevent the mailing of alcohol to Kanab in the United States mail. The town council wrote the Postmaster General at Washington D.C. to find out how this could be done. As Chamberlain told Susa Young Gates, the town board,

> explained our situation, and asked him [Postmaster] if it was necessary for us to put up with such conditions. He answered that the matter would be investigated immediately, and in a very short time the mail contractors all along the line had strict orders not to carry another drop of liquor from Marysvale to Kanab, so we have not had much trouble from that source since, though it is still shipped in by freight and other ways.[47]

[41] See Kane County Revised Ordinances of the Incorporated Town of Kanab, "An Ordinance regulating Peddlers and Traveling Merchants, and Repealing Subdivisions 2 and 3 of Section 6 of the Revised Ordinances of the Incorporated Town of Kanab," February 23, 1912, Microfilm Series 84920, reel 1. pp 85-86, Utah State Archives.

[42] Kane County Revised Ordinances, "Impounding Animals," May 8, 1912, pp. 87-89.

[43] Kane County Revised Ordinances, "Flipper Ordinance," (May 28, 1912), 90.

[44] Kane County Revised Ordinances, "Stock Yards," (July 1, 1912), 91; "Dogs," (July 29, 1912), 93. .

[45] Kanab Town Council Minutes, November 4, 1912.

[46] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

[47] Kanab Town Council Minutes, November 26, 1912; and Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

With the support of the Postmaster, the town council turned to the town marshal as well for help. A handwritten note placed in the Kanab Town Council minutes indicates a good response by the town marshal: "during the month of December 1912 there was twelve gals. of intoxicating liquor seized and 6 gals. emptid [sic] out by the Town Marshal."[48] The council minutes remain silent about the remaining six gallons. Chamberlain explained that the "marshal seized twelve gallons at one time which was addressed to different parties; some of them were able to prove to the satisfaction of the justice of the peace, though not to ours, that it was sent for medicinal purposes, and were allowed to keep theirs, and the rest about six gallons, was poured out on the ground in front of the court house."[49]

Though the efforts of the all woman town council yielded progress, they did not entirely halt the sale, distribution and consumption of alcohol. Chamberlain speculated that the drinkers "know we are on the look-out" and thus are "pretty sly about it."[50] On July 11, 1913, the women passed a five-page alcohol ordinance that forbade all alcohol consumption and sales except for liquor obtained through a licensed pharmacist for medicinal purposes.[51]

Two other progressive ordinances were passed in 1913. One provided for the Kanab cemetery to be surveyed and platted and cemetery lots to be sold.[52] Another ordinance the town council passed on April 14, 1913, regulated gambling and Sabbath breaking.[53] Citizens were not allowed to "indulge in ballgames, foot races, horse races or in any noisy outdoor amusement within the limits of this town" on Sunday, nor were they allowed to "play at any game of cards, dice, horseshoe pitching" or "any other game of chance." On October 17, 1913, Chamberlain wrote that "during the past week three young boys were arrested and fined $2.50 each" for breaking the gambling prohibition, an indication that these ordinances were taken seriously and enforced.[54]

Besides these specific ordinances, the town board engaged in many other activities considered to improve the community. Indians were "moved out of the town limits for sanitary reasons," and a "clean-up day" was sponsored with a ten dollar prize for the "cleanest and best kept street and sidewalk surrounding any home." Another major issue was the construction of a forty-foot long nine-foot levee or dike in Little's Canyon to prevent flooding. The town board agreed to split the one thousand dollar cost for the

[48] Kanab Town Council Minutes, 278.

[49] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Kane County Revised Revised Ordinances of the Incorporated Town of Kanab"An ordinance to prohibit the manufacture, sale, keeping for sale or distribution of intoxicating liquors, passed by the President and board of Trustees of the Incorporated Town of Kanab," microfilm, Series 84920, reel 1, Utah State Archives; and Howard, " An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

[52] Kane County Revised Ordinances, "Town Ordinance," (March 28,1913), 962.

[53] Kane County Revised Ordinances, "Sabbath-Breaking and Gambling," (April 14, 1913), 100.

[54] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

L. TOM PERRY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Mary Chamberlain with horses on the 1905 Sutherland-Howell trip to the Grand Canyon.

project with the local irrigation company. The board also approved the construction of wooden bridges across the irrigation ditches in town.[55]

During their two-year term, the women of the town board also sponsored a reception for Governor William Spry in September 1912; a "Greater Utah Development Meeting" on May 16, 1913; and later, a fruit festival on September 10 of the same year.[56] The May 1913 development meeting was part of a weeklong celebration of "Utah Week," a holiday declared by Governor Spry. As part of the celebration, Mary Chamberlain gave a speech called "The Purpose of Utah Day and Why We Celebrate It," calling on the citizens to support the state:

> Let us all eat Utah foods, wear Utah clothes, plant Utah seeds, sleep in Utah blankets, send our children to Utah schools, drive Utah horses, employ Utah labor, invest in Utah enterprises, sing Utah songs, tell Utah stories, fight Utah's battles, and shout Utah's praises so long and so loud that the whole world may hear, and many will come to see this wonderful land so greatly beloved by her people.[57]

While records telling the feelings of all the council members are unavailable, Chamberlain's reflections suggest a complex reaction to the experience. In the 1914 *Improvement Era* article, Chamberlain sounded pleased with the board's accomplishments. Speaking for all of the town board, Chamberlain proudly stated:

[55] Kanab Town Council Minutes, February 25, 1913; and Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 866-67.

[56] Howard, ""An Example of Women in Politics," 867.

[57] Kimball, *Handmaiden of the Lord*, 119.

> In fact, our supporters say that we have done more for the town than all the male Boards they have ever had. They urge us to run again at the coming election, . . . It is a noted fact that nine-tenths of the people never knew before who the members of the Town Board were, or that there even was a Board, but you can ask any child on the street who the present Board is, and they can tell you every one of our names . . .[58]

In the article, Chamberlain listed all the ordinances and major accomplishments of the town council and declared that those things were only "a few of the many things we have done."[59] In her 1936 *Life Sketch*, Chamberlain proclaimed herself to be the "first woman mayor" in the United States.[60] Yet Chamberlain was sometimes embarrassed when she was recognized as mayor: "Aunt Susa always called me 'Mayor' and shouted it out wherever she met me, on the street, in meeting, at the Temple, or elsewhere, much to my embarrassment at times, but she took great delight in it."[61]

When criticisms were levied at her suggesting that she or the other women of the town council were single and without families or were irresponsible mothers and wives, Chamberlain became extremely defensive. When Mrs. Anna King of the Utah Legislature wrote a letter asking if the women on the Town Board were "married women of families," Chamberlain recorded that she "told her emphatically yes, that each of us had from two to seven children, and that three of the five members have given birth to babies during our term of office."[62] As verification, Chamberlain included a photo of herself and her two boys with the letter. Chamberlain continued her defensive tone when she recorded:

> We do all our own home work, make our own carpets, rugs, quilts, soap and all other things that pioneer women have to do. I clerk in the store part of the time, and do my own work, which at this season includes bottling fruit, preserving, pickling, drying corn, etc, etc., between times; and then there are my religious duties which I try not to neglect. I am local superintendent of Religion Class, teacher of the second intermediate department in Sunday school and treasurer of the Relief Society.
>
> I, and my two boys, which is all the family I have, each received a badge of honor for never being late nor absent from Sunday school, last year, and have made the same record so far this year, so you will see that I haven't much leisure.[63]

Chamberlain was always proud and satisfied, yet also defensive and protective when criticized.

That Chamberlain may have felt defensive about her involvement in politics while being a wife and mother is supported by her completely

[58] Howard, " An Example of Women in Politics," 865.

[59] Ibid., 867.

[60] Many sources including Chamberlain's obituary in the *Deseret News and Telegram*, August 21, 1953, family records, and histories of Kane County have erroneously concluded that Chamberlain was the first woman mayor in the country. The honor actually belongs to Susanna Madora Salter, who served as mayor of Argonia, Kansas in 1887, and was one of a number of women mayors elected during the years after the Civil War. Monroe Billington, "Susanna Madora Salter—First Woman Mayor," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 21 (Autumn 1954), 173-83.

[61] Kimball, *Handmaiden of the Lord*, 213.

[62] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 867-68.

[63] Ibid., 868.

L. TOM PERRY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

The Sutherland-Howell trip to the Grand Canyon in 1905. Third from left is Edwin D. Wooley, fourth from left is Representative Joseph Howell, sixth from left is Mary Chamberlain (standing).

enthusiastic description of her political campaign and service as Utah's first woman county clerk, a position held before she was married. Running in 1896 as a Republican against Democrat Fuller S. Broadbent, a longtime participant in Kanab city politics, Chamberlain regaled, "Women had never held office in Utah and the propriety of her doing so was a moot question which was thoroughly 'mooted,' I assure you."[64] She explained how she joined three others on the Republican ticket and "formed a quartette, and toured the county, holding rallies in every town." During rallies and other public events, she often gave speeches, none of them ever written. She later said that she wished that she had made "a copy of some of the speeches . . .but they were never written, being only spontaneous outbursts of my enthusiasm regarding woman suffrage and her right to stand shoulder to shoulder with man in public as well as private life, etc."[65] Unlike her subsequent election when her father had to come tell her the results and convince her to accept her position, Chamberlain recorded of her county clerkship:

> That [election] night while waiting for the election returns, a grand ball was held which lasted until nearly morning, before the last precinct was heard from. When reports were all in it proved that the county, state, and the nation had gone Republican, and I was elected on the ticket, headed by William McKinley for President of the United States, and I was the first lady county clerk in the State of Utah.[66]

[64] Kimball, *Handmaiden of the Lord*, 150.
[65] Ibid., 151.
[66] Ibid.

Chamberlain seems unabashedly passionate, starkly contrasting the mixed tone in which she described her election to Kanab's Town Board. Proud of her accomplishments, she even corrected the assumption that another woman was the first elected county clerk. In her letter to Anna King, Chamberlain explained that while she did "not wish to detract one iota from Mrs. Witcher's notierity [sic]—I just want to state that I was elected to the same office in Kane County in 1896 & so I believe I really have that honor."[67]

Chamberlain apparently had few qualms about vigorously campaigning and holding office when she was a single twenty-six year old female, though her status as a married mother perhaps changed her feelings, causing a more complicated reaction to her second elected position as President of Kanab's Town Board. This mixed reaction also may have been caused by Kanab's varied reaction to the all-woman town board. While Adonis F. Robinson's *Town Business*—which hyperbolizes that "not a soul has ever found it in his heart to criticize those remarkable women"—obviously overstates the support for the all-woman town board, most sources suggest that Kanab townspeople were very satisfied with their work.[68] In contrast, Chamberlain acknowledged that she and the other members of the town council received mixed support and some opposition from the town's populace.

> Don't think for one moment that we haven't any opposition to contend with, for we feel sometimes that we have more than our share of it. Some members meet it every day in their own homes, but they are all women of character and have been able to hold their own. They have come out on top of every skirmish so far, but it makes it very unpleasant for them as you may know.[69]

Although the article accurately quoted Chamberlain's letter as saying that the women were "discussed in every home for good or ill," it seems important that Chamberlain underlined "ill" in her original letter, the only underlined word in the entire seven page holographic document.[70] Tamar Hamblin concurred. A poem, written by Tamar for Blanche Hamblin's 1945 funeral, recalled the time "when we were the first Woman's Town Board." According to Tamar, it was a time "when all we got was fault-finding, / Never an encouraging word."[71]

Susa Young Gates noted that the all female town board faced "indignant" opposition from the men in town when the "stringent estray-pound law, setting a fine of $1.50 on every cow found wandering in the streets of

[67] Howard, "Anna H. King," 5. Chamberlain refers to Mrs. Witcher "Margret Jane Witcher" and indicates that she is a county clerk in "one of the larger towns up North."

[68] Adonis F. Robinson, "Town Business. A Story of Kanab's All-Woman Town Council," (Kanab: Southern Utah Publishing Company, 1975 [?]).

[69] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 865.

[70] Letter, Mary Howard to Mrs. Susa Young Gates, BYU collection, and Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 865.

[71] Tamar Hamblin, "Aunt Blanche," *Walter Eugene and Blanche Robinson Hamblin and Their Descendents*, 15.

Kanab" was passed.[72] The men refused to obey the new law and as a result the cows had to be "driven in to the pound by the city marshal, and when not redeemed, were milked, the milk sold, and the cows finally sold or driven into other counties. The fines were paid very soon after a few trial cases ...."[73]

That problem was solved, yet another was created: keeping the town marshal. Susa Young Gates reflecting on the problem in Kanab wrote:

> One amusing phase of this case is that the women had to hire a city marshal—a man. A great, big, brave, courageous man. No coward or weakling need apply. For he has—not arrests to make, but jeers and slurs to face from his fellows. He is twitted about being under a petticoat government. The women skimp and save from every other avenue of expenditure in order to pay the comparatively enormous salary they are obliged to offer to the man who undertakes the job of city marshal. And after a few weeks or months of being the town joke he gives up and another marshal must be found.[74]

The town minutes reflected the problem and read like a soap opera. On January 3, 1912, John Adams was "appointed and sustained as Town Marshall." The minutes do not keep up on all the changes, though something apparently happened with Adams; a man named Dobson was appointed to replace him. This appointment was short-lived as well, since the minutes of the March 20, 1912, meeting indicate that "it was decided to ask I.O. Brown to act as marshal owing to the resignation of W. Dobson." I. O. Brown "refus[ed] to act as Town Marshal," so H. E. Riggs was "appointed in his stead" at the March 27, 1912, meeting. Riggs did not last long either; a mere month-and-a-half later, the board requested "a motion [for] the resignation of H.E. Riggs as marshal." In a telling swipe, the minutes noted that the request was made because Riggs "did not support the town board." When Riggs' resignation took effect is not recorded, though another change occurred. This time A.L. McAllister, Luella McAllister's husband replaced E.M. Ford on September 11, 1912. With Luella's husband acting as marshal, the frequent changes seemed to slow somewhat, although it is entirely possible that the women simply got tired of recording the changes. Sometime during the next year, at least one more change occurred as the next note about a marshal is on December 19, 1913, when Marshal Alex Adams was asked to resign. The council then asked William Crosby to serve for the rest of the month. Though Crosby only needed to finish the term—a short two-week stint—he would not accept the job. Persistent, the council then asked A.S. McAllister to accept the job. [75] Having at least seven marshals—and many others who refused to

[72] Gates, "Utah Women in Politics," 14.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., 15.

[75] *Kanab Town Council Minutes*, January 3, March 20, 27, May 6, September 11, 1912, December 19, 20, 1913. According to a short synopsis of Kanab's city council minutes prepared by the Utah State Archives, during the towns first thirty years "the town marshal was the most frequently discussed topic at council meetings" and "the minutes continue to reflect a theme of conflict between the town council and the city marshals until the 1980s. See synopsis, "Series 84960, Kanab (Utah), City Council Minutes, 1885- [ongoing]," Utah State Archives. http://historyresearch.utah.gov/inventories/84960. html. Accessed 3/22/05.

serve—during a two-year term is unmatched in other Utah towns. Though they certainly had supporters, the all-woman town council faced citizen opposition to their ordinances, struggled to find male marshals to enforce their laws, and apparently faced opposition in their personal homes, as well.

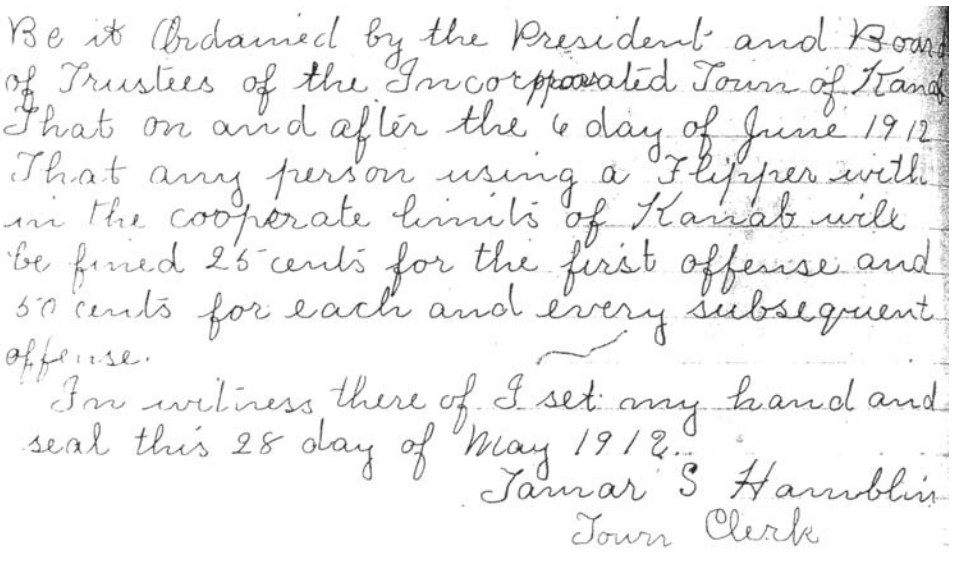
Kanab's all-woman town council is a fascinating story of an election prank, the women who decided to take it seriously, and the civic accomplishments and struggles of an all-female town board during the early twentieth century at a time in Utah or elsewhere when women were not involved in town politics or government. Kanab's all-woman town council provides a case study of sorts, into the biases of the twentieth century, especially concerning LDS women in politics.

Mary Chamberlain's story as reflected briefly in her 1913 letter to Susa Young Gates, shows one proud of her civic accomplishments as well as fulfilling her familial and religious duties. Her comments to Gates reflect the national suffrage debate then occurring and its concerns about whether women could participate in the public realm or if such participation would cause them to neglect their homes and families in their private sphere. The national anti-suffrage movement at the time felt that "while the state fell into the male realm, the female realm was the home."[76] In 1905 Grover Cleveland explained to *Ladies Home Journal* readers that the political realm would have "a dangerous, undermining effect on the character of wives and mothers."[77] Chamberlain responded to such sentiments by reminding critics that the all-woman, town board were all mothers who did their own house work.

Suffragists in the early 1900s argued the "woman voter would not be the destroyer of home, family and society but their protector."[78] Susa Young Gates echoed these arguments in her 1913 "Utah Women in Politics," claiming that while "most women in this state are domestic in their habits and lives; they prize the franchise and use it independently."[79] Overall, Gates wrote, Utah women voters focused their political "desire, nay their determination, to see that good and honorable men are put in office."[80]

Like other suffragists in the early twentieth century, Gates sought to put the public's mind at rest about Utah women in politics, reassuring them that most women were interested in their families and simply wanted the vote to put effective and worthy men into office. She claimed that women in politics would help and certainly would not hurt the home. Gates defended the female town board in Kanab, stating, "This is all recent, and yet none of these women have neglected their homes or husbands or babies—all of them were married—and this town government is highly satisfactory."[81]

[76] Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 338.
[77] Ibid., 339.
[78] Ibid., 341.
[79] Gates, "Utah Women in Politics," 5.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., 15.



Be it Ordained by the President and Board of Trustees of the Incorporated Town of Kanab That on and after the 6 day of June 1912 That any person using a Flipper with in the cooperate limits of Kanab will be fined 25 cents for the first offense and 50 cents for each and every subsequent offense.

In witness there of I set my hand and seal this 28 day of May 1912.

Tamar S Hamblin
Town Clerk

UTAH STATE ARCHIVES

Tamar S. Hamblin, town clerk, recorded the Flipper Ordinance on May 28, 1912.

In 1914 the editors of the LDS church owned publication, the *Improvement Era*, seemed to support women who participated in public office. Calling the women an "inspiration" and an example of "what women can do for the advancement of the conditions of a country settlement," the Editor's Note found at the beginning of Chamberlain's published letter strikes a congratulatory, positive tone that would likely encourage other Utah women to follow suit.[82]

The Editor's Note sounds much like Jane Addams' 1906 speech to the National American Woman Suffrage Association in which she argued that "city housekeeping has failed recently because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its activities."[83] Her position that women would bring a "responsibility for the cleanliness" of people and towns sounds similar to Gates' contention that the Kanab female council's "first thought was to clean up the town," after which she listed their numerous accomplishments.[84] In a broad sense, the women of Kanab's town board were doing what many other American women were doing at the turn of the century: participating in the "municipal housekeeping" movement. Women typically joined clubs to achieve their aims, and the "housekeeping" movement spread throughout the United States as women sought to wash and scrub their surroundings. Women in cities fought pollution and slums, while "inhabitants of many smaller places, particularly those that had been recently settled, began to look around in dismay at rickety buildings, dusty main streets, piles of garbage attracting flies and rats,

[82] Howard, "An Example of Women in Politics," 865 and *Improvement Era,* 17 (July 1914): 865.
[83] Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 341-42.
[84] Gates, " An Example of Women in Politics," 14.

stinking gutters, [and] sewage pouring into rivers and harbors . . ."[85]

While Kanab's all-woman town council had greater means to accomplish their goals, their aims were similar to those of many American clubwomen during the Progressive Era. Indeed, the very fact that the clubwomen and other more directly politically active women such as the town council focused on local town affairs made their work acceptable. As gender historian Karen J. Blair notes, "All this participation of women in city affairs was palatable to the public because it focused on municipal improvement, rather than on women's rights."[86] Clearly the all-woman town board faced animosity during their term. Had the women actively sought office as a feminist statement, hostility likely would have been even greater. Instead, the prank election, though unsolicited and unwanted by its female participants, opened the door for an ordinary group of southern Utah women to step into elected office, manage a small frontier town, and take an extraordinary place in history.

[85] Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies. Women's Associations in American History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 144.

[86] Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist. True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914*, (New York: Homes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980), 90.

Whiskey or Water: A Brief History of the Cache National Forest

By MICHAEL W. JOHNSON

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Shortly after the turn of the last century, Professor William Peterson of the Utah State Agricultural College embarked on a geological survey of the Bear River range. He planned to cover the mountain country from Blacksmith Fork Canyon to Soda Springs, Idaho, using a saddle horse and a pack horse. In earlier years, Peterson had become familiar with the area and felt secure that there would be adequate forage for his horses. He had not reckoned on the effects of a severe multi-year drought and a devastating increase in sheep grazing. Peterson recalled:

> As I had known the area, the tops of canyons and the high cirques had never been grazed, so I started with a small amount of grain, feeling that I could graze my animals as the work proceeded. I cannot exaggerate the conditions found. The first night out my animals were tied to keep them from wandering, because there was absolutely no feed available. I purposely visited the very head of the canyons, those areas that were most inaccessible, but greatly to my surprise the sheep had been there and had transformed what had previously been a luxuriant growth of grass into a dirty, uninviting barren spot. Only one night do I remember I was able to graze the animals out and that was by partially building a trail that got the horses onto a ledge where sheep had not been able to climb. This was the only night of actual grazing given to my animals during the six or seven weeks I rode the Bear River range.[1]

The effects of this destruction were felt not only in the mountains but were visited on the valleys below. Mountain snow melt previously had been held back by groundcover, which had allowed it to sink into the soil and

This Cache National Forest road passed through a grove of towering aspens near the Tony Grove Ranger Station.

Michael W. Johnson is the Director of the Utah History Fair, Utah State University.

[1] William Peterson, "Conservation of the Public Domain," Utah Cooprative Extension Service New Circular Series No. 39 (Logan: Utah Cooperative Extension Service, n.d.), quoted in F. Ross Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Commission, 1997), 167.

recharge the groundwater. Now it ran off quickly in the spring leaving irrigators without water in late summer. Increased soil erosion also caused problems. The Logan River ran muddy after storms, fouling Logan City's drinking water and disgusting its citizens. The result was a crisis for both valley farmers and municipal water users. Angry Cache County residents attended a meeting in February 1902 to consider the issue. Many felt they should petition the federal government to protect the watershed by proclaiming it a forest reserve. On such reserves, lumbering and grazing were regulated and settlement was not allowed. Mayor Moroni Price of Smithfield commented, "I've been here ever since the mountains were little hills, and not until recent years have I suffered for lack of a decent drink of water, but after seeing the dead sheep and other animals that continually find a burial place in our streams, I have about reached a decision to drink whiskey from now on."[2]

Not all were in favor of the establishment of a forest reserve. Sheep man George Bell was opposed. A Mr. Hobbs of Benson thought that the brush on the mountains should be destroyed because it scratched his pants when he got out wood. Still, most people spoke in favor of federal protection. Jed Blair summed up the alternatives when he stated:

> I have a brother who is a large owner of sheep and he is now negotiating for the purchase of a large tract of land in Logan Canyon. There are scores of other cattlemen who have done or are contemplating the same thing. What do you want? A public reserve with pure water and a beautiful canyon, or a private reserve, impure water and mountain deserts?[3]

This crisis occurred less than fifty years after the settlement of the area by Mormon pioneers. Indeed, what Euro-Americans have called "the Winning of the West" came at a tremendous environmental cost. Native Americans affected the landscape, at times significantly, through hunting and burning, but white Americans came with the social organization and the tools to greatly reshape the countryside.

The pioneers that settled Cache Valley built their towns on alluvial fans at the mouths of canyons. This was where streams issuing from the mountains could be diverted to irrigate the bottomlands below. The canyons also furnished timber, which was needed in great quantities. There was a great appetite for fence posts and poles, logs and lumber for houses and farm buildings, and firewood. By the early 1870s, steam and water-powered sawmills were at work in the nearby hills making lumber for area communities. The coming of the railroads increased demand for local timber. Thousands of railroad ties were hand hewn in 1877 from trees in Blacksmith Fork, Cub River, and perhaps other canyons. These were floated down to the Bear River for delivery to the railroad at Corinne. With little regard for the value of the resource, settlers at times set forest

[2] *The Logan Journal*, February 18, 1902.
[3] Ibid.

fires as a form of amusement.[4]

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Ogden Canyon.

Grazing animals were critical to the economy of these pioneers. Their livestock provided power for transportation and farm work, meat, dairy products, leather, wool, tallow, and a number of other products. At first, Mormon farmers kept their livestock on their town lots. Each day herd boys collected the animals, drove them to community pastures for grazing, and returned them to town in the evening. This arrangement offered security from rustlers and Indians. As these threats diminished, herd sizes grew, and Utah was drawn into the national economy, Mormon grazers began to adopt the practices of America's open range livestock industry.

Like ranchers throughout the West, most Utah stockmen depended on free access to federal land. They might own their ranch headquarters, but their animals grazed largely on government lands that had not yet been purchased or homesteaded by private citizens. These were generally lands that were unsuitable for farming; arid lands without access to irrigation or mountain forests. Like many timber companies of the time, ranchers saw no reason to purchase and pay taxes on lands when they could use the resources on them for free.

Markets and declining range conditions pushed Western stockmen increasingly away from cattle and into sheep raising in the 1880s and 1890s. The geography of northern Utah proved ideal for sheep. Ranch headquarters were established on the irrigated farms of Cache Valley and along the Wasatch Front. These headquarters could grow feed and provide good areas for spring lambing. Sheep herds wintered on the West Desert, summered in the mountains, and paused at the ranch headquarters in the "oasis zone" as they passed from one to the other.

The problem was that there was much more winter range than summer range. As sheep numbers grew sharply, competition for summer range in the mountains became fierce. The emergence of "tramp" or "transient"

[4] "Memorandum for Forest Supervisor: Additional data submitted by Elmer F. Merrill," Cache National Forest Records, microfilm, Utah Reel 349 no.4, Special Collections, Utah State University; Cache National Forest Map, 1962, Special Collections, Utah State University.

herds exacerbated the situation. These were large herds that wandered far from their home ranch. They were grazed across the public lands with disregard for the customary rights of local ranchers, stripping the grass and moving on. Albert Potter, a government grazing inspector, estimated that in the summer of 1901, as many as 150,000 sheep were grazed in the Utah portion of the Bear River Mountains.[5]

The problem was not just numbers. To grab a piece of the summer range, ranchers rushed their sheep into the mountains in May when the ground was still wet and before the ground cover was established. Thousands of hooves ground the canyon driveways down to mud and bare earth. Another problem was the practice of using the ridge lines as a driveway. Herds were driven along the crest from one canyon to another, often denuding the mountain tops of all vegetation. In summer, valley residents could see clouds of dust rising from the mountains as the huge sheep herds moved across the land. The severe drought of the late 1890s merely made the problems worse.[6]

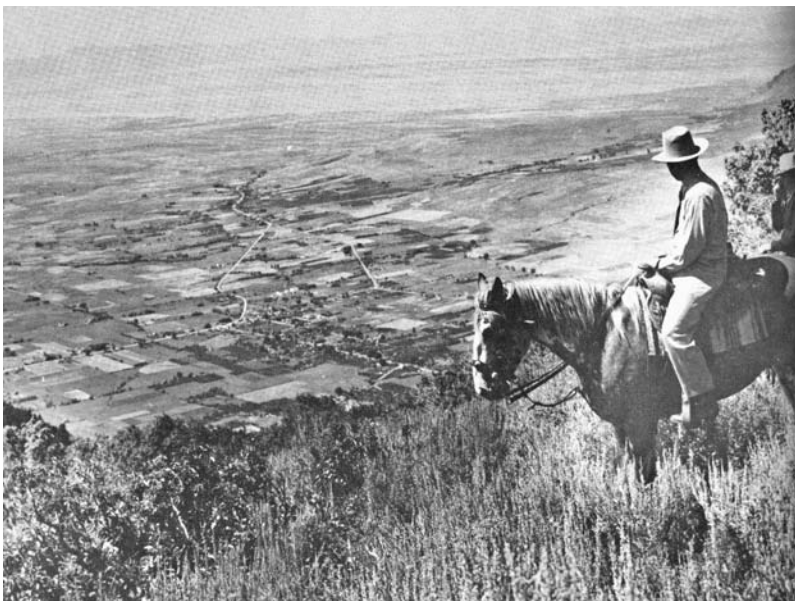
As these natural resource abuses developed across Utah and the West, a fledgling conservation movement developed in response. Progressives like Franklin Hough, dismayed at the destruction of resources that had once seemed inexhaustible, espoused the idea that government had a role in forest preservation. The federal government began to listen in the 1870s, making Hough a forestry agent in the Department of Agriculture. A few years later, Hough was placed in charge of the department's new Division of Forestry, an agency that supported forestry largely on private lands. Bernhard Fernow, a forester trained in Germany, brought professionalism to the Division when he was named its chief in 1886. The movement's influence grew, and in 1891 a short amendment was added to a bill in Congress that dealt with federal land laws. Sometimes referred to as the "Forest Reserve Act," it authorized the President of the United States to occasionally, by proclamation, protect pieces of federal forest land by placing them in public reservations.[7]

President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve that same year. By the end of his administration in

[5] Albert F. Potter, "Diary of Albert F. Potter, July 1, 1902 to November 22, 1902," unpublished typescript, Special Collections, Utah State University. Albert Potter was an Arizona stock raiser who was hired by Gifford Pinchot to be a government grazing inspector. Potter rose quickly in the agency and became the Forest Service's first Chief of Grazing.

[6] Albert F. Potter, "Forest Conditions in Utah: Prepared for the Society of American Foresters," 1903, Records of the U.S. Forest Service, RG 95, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland; Cache National Forest Map, 1962, Special Collections, Utah State University.

[7] Franklin Hough was a New York physician who became interested in forestry. Hough urged Congress to become involved in forestry issues at an 1873 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He became the first Chief of the Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and is sometimes referred to as the Father of American Forestry. Bernhard Fernow, a German immigrant, was trained in Germany as a professional forester and was appointed by President Grover Cleveland to head the Division of Forestry in 1886. Fernow assembled a professional staff, was an activist, and believed the government should hold on to and manage its forest lands.



U.S. FOREST SERVICE

Men on horseback look down on North Ogden from the mountain above One Horse Canyon, a part of the Cache National Forest.

1893, he had established fifteen forest reserves totaling some fifteen million acres. Following recommendations by the National Academy of Sciences, Congress created a National Forest Commission in 1896 that included Alexander Agassiz, Charles Sargent, and a young forester named Gifford Pinchot. The commission traveled throughout the country, surveying established and potential forest reserves. Based on its recommendations, President Grover Cleveland proclaimed thirteen new forest reserves on February 22, 1897, now known as the Washington's Birthday Forests. The sudden creation of these reserves shocked many in Congress and prompted a new look at the establishment criteria and administration of the forest reserves. The eventual result was the "Pettigrew Amendment," part of the 1897 Sundry Act. This provided that any new forest reserves must be created for the purpose of preserving forests, preserving watersheds, or for timber production. Whereas the original forest reserve act had made no provision for using the resources of the reserves, this act allowed for active management of resources on forest reserve lands. The Interior Department's General Land Office, which oversaw the reserves, soon hired supervisors and rangers to manage and patrol them.

Gifford Pinchot, the first native-born American to be professionally trained as a forester, succeeded Bernard Fernow as the Chief of the Division of Forestry at the Department of Agriculture in 1898. Pinchot was a visionary who believed that the use of public and private forest resources must be put on a sustainable basis. His great frustration was that, although he was the nation's forestry chief, the administration of the forest reserves remained within the Department of the Interior. This frustration would be ended by one of the turning points in American history.

The assassination of President William McKinley in September 1901 elevated Theodore Roosevelt to the White House. Roosevelt was an avid outdoorsman, a staunch conservationist, and a personal friend of Gifford Pinchot. His first State of the Union speech, presented in December 1901,

praised the forest reserves and suggested additions to the system be made whenever practicable. He also called for control of the reserves to be transferred to Pinchot's Bureau of Forestry at the Department of Agriculture. Though this change would not be officially made for a few more years, Roosevelt saw to it that Pinchot was in de facto control.[8] Roosevelt's call for new forest reserves was heard not only in Washington but in Utah's Cache Valley. Seeing a forest reserve as the solution to the valley's watershed problems, Logan merchant Lyman Martineau, Professor George Swendsen of the agricultural college, civil engineer Edward Hansen, and others worked to get the attention of local officials. With the support of William Edwards, Chairman of the Cache County Commission, the idea was floated before the Commission on February 4, 1902. The Commission passed a resolution calling for a public meeting of county residents to consider the proposition. *The Logan Journal* praised the action stating, "The board of county commissioners demonstrated the fact that they are alive to the needs of their constituents...when they took action to secure governmental aid in protecting and maintaining the water supply of the county."[9]

Citizens from throughout Cache County gathered at the courthouse at 11:00 a.m. on February 15. After much discussion, a resolution was approved by an almost unanimous vote. It called on the President of the United States to set aside the watersheds of the Little Bear River, the Blacksmith Fork, Logan River, the Little Muddy, and the Cub River as a public reservation and exempt them from settlement. A committee consisting of Lyman Martineau, George Swendsen, Joseph Howell, Joseph Monson, F.K. Nebeker, Lorenzo Hansen, and J.C. Knowles were appointed to pursue the matter.[10]

Federal officials responded quickly. The *Deseret News* of May 12, 1902, announced that the General Land Office was withdrawing the lands of the proposed forest reserve from settlement, entry, or sale. Albert F. Potter, a grazing inspector for the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Forestry, arrived in Logan to survey these lands on July 1. That day he met with Thomas Smart, a prominent sheep rancher who grazed his herd on the proposed reserve. Smart expressed his belief that the range was greatly overstocked with sheep, cattle, and horses, due in large part to transient herds from Idaho and other parts of Utah. Smart supported the creation of a forest reserve as a way of keeping transient herds off the local range.[11]

Over the next several days, Potter met with local forest reserve supporters and rode throughout much of the country. Along the way he noted the various types of trees and vegetation, the effects of timber cutting, sawmills,

[8] Theodore Roosevelt, ""First Annual Message," December 3, 1901, *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, Volume 15, State Papers as Governor and President (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, 102-04.)

[9] *The Logan Journal,* February 6, 1902.

[10] Ibid., February 18, 1902.

[11] Potter, "Diary of Albert F. Potter."

ranches, and grazing conditions. His diary entry of July 8, 1902, was typical of his observations:

> From camp we took the county road to Meadowville, following same about four miles. Timber cutting for ties and lumber has been done along this road. The hills are mostly bare of timber and covered with sagebrush and aspen thickets; went across ridge to north slope of Maughan's Fork. Saw herd of sheep. All of this country has been very heavily grazed; most of the grass has been tramped out and sheep subsist mostly on the weeds and brouse [sic].[12]

PAUL S. BIELER, PHOTOGRAPHER, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A forest nursery near the Tony Grove Ranger Station In Logan Canyon, 1939.

Potter's observations confirmed that much of the proposed forest reserve had been overstocked with livestock and that most of the accessible timber had been cut. Though local reserve proponents favored a two-year moratorium on sheep grazing, he felt that grazing could continue as long as it was carefully monitored. Potter finished in the Logan area in late July, but he continued his survey down into central Utah looking for more additions to the forest reserve system. During 1902, Albert Potter was in the saddle for most of five months traveling Utah's back country.[13]

The following spring, President Theodore Roosevelt began a multi-week trip to several western states. He arrived by train in Salt Lake City the morning of May 29, 1903. Greeted by a large and enthusiastic crowd, Roosevelt rode in a parade to the City and County Building where he spoke to a gathering of school children. He then proceeded to the Salt Lake Tabernacle to make a formal address where he urged, "do not let the mountain forests be devastated by the men who overgraze them, destroy them for the sake of three years' use and then go somewhere else, and leave so much diminished the heritage of those who remain permanently on the land." On this day, Roosevelt signed the proclamation establishing the Logan Forest Reserve. At 107,540 acres, it contained most of the lands originally requested by Cache County's citizens. Progressive government had created a mechanism for protecting critical forests and watersheds, and it had responded to the pleas of a community in crisis.[14]

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 30, 1903; *The Logan Republican*, June 5, 20, 1903.

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The Tony Grove Ranger Station, July 1937.

John Fell Squires, a fifty-six year old Logan barber, was appointed Forest Supervisor. Joseph Howell of Wellsville, one of the original reserve proponents, had been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in the fall of 1902, knew Squires as a man who loved to be out in the mountains and queried him about the possibility of accepting the job. A few months later, Squires' appointment came down from the General Land Office.[15]

Squires was born in Putway, England, in 1846, the second of John and Harriet Squires' eight children. His family converted to Mormonism, immigrated to the United States, and crossed the plains to Utah in 1853. His father opened a barbershop in downtown Salt Lake City. As a young man, John F. fought in Utah's Blackhawk War. He married in 1868 and moved to Logan in 1872 where he took up his father's profession. Though a barber, Squires was no stranger to the outdoor life and he had a remarkable constitution. At the age of fifty-eight, he was still well able to do manual labor and spend day after day in the saddle.[16]

James Leatham, a Wellsville farmer and school teacher, was appointed a ranger, and the first reserve office was established in Logan over the Co-op Drug Store. Squires worked the northern end of the reserve and Leatham looked after the Blacksmith Fork area to the south. As there were yet no

[15] "First Cache Forest Head Recalls Work," *The Logan Herald Journal*, September 30, 1932.
[16] Ibid.

guard stations, they spent many frosty nights under canvas in the spring and fall. Fighting the occasional fire and introducing a permit system for grazing occupied most of the men's time. Where some one hundred fifty thousand sheep had grazed the area in 1901, seventeen permits for 33,950 sheep were issued in the new reserve. Seventy-one permits were issued for some five thousand head of cattle and horses. Squires took a lenient approach with the stockmen noting that, "We didn't push them much though but tried to be easy on them and get them gradually to see what Uncle Sam wanted them to do."[17]

In Washington, D.C., Gifford Pinchot continued to push Congress to place the forest reserves officially under his control at the Bureau of Forestry. When the General Land Office became mired in scandal, Pinchot finally gained congressional approval for the change. Forest reserve administration was transferred to the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Forestry on February 1, 1905. At the beginning of the next fiscal year on July 1, Pinchot changed the name of the agency to the Forest Service.

Pinchot created a decentralized agency with a great deal of decision-making delegated to those in the field. To foster professionalism, he placed the agency under civil service rules, replacing the patronage system of employment that had been used by the General Land Office. New rangers were to be selected through a comprehensive written and field examination. Questions covered logging operations, scaling timber, the dimensions of a township, grazing practices, and how to build a log cabin. The field test included saddling and riding a horse, packing a horse with camp gear, and running lines with a compass. *The Use Book*, first published by the service in 1905, provided field personnel with a comprehensive guide to agency policies and could be carried in a pocket.[18]

With President Roosevelt's support, Pinchot's staff actively searched out new forest lands for inclusion into the reserve system. On May 28, 1906, the Logan Forest Reserve was expanded to include most of the Bear River Mountains stretching to Soda Springs, Idaho, and it was renamed the Bear River Forest Reserve. Pinchot was uncomfortable with the term "forest reserve" because he thought it gave the impression that such lands were not to be used. To emphasize the idea that the government forests were to be utilized, he renamed all the reserves, including the Bear River, national forests the following year.

The Bear River National Forest was more than John Squires felt comfortable supervising. He asked for a demotion in 1907 and was replaced by

[17] Ibid. "History of Cache Forest is Told," n.d., news clipping in history files Logan Ranger District, Wasatch-Cache National Forest; Potter, "Diary of Albert F. Potter;" U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended, June 30, 1904,* "Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office," 630, 631.

[18] "Departmental Service–Forest Ranger Examination," U.S. Forest Service Collection, Duke University Library, www.lib.duke.edu/forest/usfscoll/people/Ranger_Life/ranger08.html Accessed October 8, 2003.

a Yale-trained forester named Willard Weld Clark. Clark felt his rangers needed professional training, so he organized a "short course" in forestry at the agricultural college that his staff could take during the winter. Just months after his arrival, Clark was severely injured when he fell on his saddle horn while riding. He was taken to the Card Canyon Guard Station where he died of pneumonia two days later. Mark G. Woodruff succeeded Clark, and Squires stayed on as deputy supervisor.

Meanwhile, an area in the Monte Cristo region, referred to as the "open township," was suffering from the same overgrazing problems that had been seen in the Logan River watershed. Seeking relief from destructive over competition, local stock raisers appealed to the government to place the township into the national forest system. Monte Cristo Township was added to the Bear River National Forest in 1908, and the whole assemblage was renamed the Cache National Forest. The Cache grew again the following year when the Pocatello National Forest was merged into it. Mark Woodruff was transferred, and Clinton G. Smith, previously supervisor of the Pocatello National Forest, took control in Logan.[19]

In addition to Smith as supervisor, the staff included John Squires as deputy supervisor, deputy forest ranger James Leatham, four assistant forest rangers, a forest guard, and Margaret Jensen as clerk. Ranger work was physically demanding involving manual labor and long days on horseback. Most of the Cache rangers had been cowboys and were in their twenties or thirties. An early Utah ranger recalled: "the distance around the country I had to oversee was about six hundred miles, all to be done with saddle horse and pack outfit....I rode hard every day and during the summer I used ten saddle horses, kept my horses and myself and received a salary of $60 per month."[20]

John Squires, at age sixty-three, kept up with the younger men. Supervisor Smith marveled at his physical condition, commenting that he, "Has been running boundary survey nearly all summer, and no one this age but a man of iron could have stood the rough life and tough work in running over 162 miles of Boundary."[21]

The work was also dangerous. The hazards of traveling rough country and doing construction projects were compounded by the often solitary nature of the job. Deputy ranger James Leatham had established a small station and tree nursery up the Left Hand Fork of Blacksmith Fork Canyon. A few days before Christmas 1911, Leatham, who was by himself, attempted to stop a runaway team of horses. Badly injured, he dragged himself to his cabin where he lay for two days without a fire. He then managed to crawl

[19] " Monte Cristo History," Cache National Forest Records, microfilm, Utah Reel 349 no. 4, Special Collections, Utah State University.

[20] William Anderson, n.d., 8, unpublished typescript in the history files of the Ashley National Forest, Vernal.

[21] Report of Clinton G. Smith in the history files of the Logan Ranger District, Wasatch-Cache National Forest, Logan.

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A range management camp at the Tony Grove Ranger Station.

onto the back of his horse on Christmas Day and ride to the doctor in Hyrum. There he died a few hours later. Leatham Hollow, where his station stood, now bears his name.[22]

By starting systems of regulated grazing and timber cutting, surveying forest boundaries, firefighting, building trails, and constructing guard stations and telephone lines, the early rangers laid the groundwork for their agency's success. Forest service grazing practices were soon held up as a model for the rest of the nation's public lands. In a 1925 article titled, "A Land Policy for the Public Domain," agronomist George Stewart of the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station in Logan advocated a regulated system of grazing on federal lands not protected as national forests. Stewart, who was certainly familiar with conditions on the Cache, wrote: "The Forest Service ... has controlled grazing and stabilized the stock industry by building up the carrying capacity of big ranges, by preserving the integrity of the soil mantle, and by promoting good will among graziers, of whom none would now be willing to revert to the open range system."[23]

Stewart pointed out the continuing problems caused by overgrazing on public land, but privately owned rangelands were also being abused. This was made clear in 1923 when a summer cloudburst on the mountains east of Willard, Utah, spawned a massive mud flow that cascaded down Willard Canyon and poured right through the town. Water, muck, boulders, and debris cut a great swath of destruction across the rural community destroying orchards, fields, and farm buildings. Two women were crushed to death in their homes. In the aftermath, a study by Professor J.H. Paul of the University of Utah and F.S. Baker of the Forest Service's Intermountain Region recommended that about one thousand acres of high mountain land above Willard be re-vegetated and protected from overgrazing and

[22] "History of Cache Forest is Told," Logan Ranger District, Logan.
[23] George Stewart, "A Land Policy for the Public Domain," *Economic Geography* 1 (March 1925): 90.

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Utah State Agricultural College students studying range management at the Tony Grove Ranger Station.

fires. The Civilian Conservation Corps did some terracing on Willard Peak in 1933, but the recommendations were largely ignored.[24]

On July 21, 1936, a summer storm created another disastrous debris flow that roared through Willard at 3:30 in the morning. Though no one was killed, property damage was listed at five hundred thousand dollars. This time action was taken. Willard City condemned private land on the mountain and invited the Forest Service to rehabilitate it. Under Forest Supervisor A.G. Nord, Cache National Forest and CCC personnel worked on an aggressive program of contour trenching along the mountain tops. Grazing and woodcutting were discontinued, and fire prevention was pursued. In 1941, Willard City donated the 1,807 acre tract around Willard Peak to the Cache National Forest.[25]

Taking note of Willard's action, local governments in Weber, Cache, and Box Elder County created partnerships with the Cache National Forest to stop erosion in their watersheds. The Weber County Watershed Protective Corporation purchased private lands around Wheeler Peak east of Ogden. These were given to the Cache forest for rehabilitation and protection. Local governments in Cache and Box Elder counties formed the Wellsville Mountain Corporation to purchase and protect critical watershed property in the Wellsville range. These partnerships, which remained active into the 1960s, brought another wave of expansion to the Cache National Forest. Once again, federal conservation had come to the aid of Utah communities in crisis.

Grazing and watershed protection were not the only activities of the Cache National Forest in its early decades. Lumber production took place on a small scale, but recreation blossomed. Utahns had long looked to the mountains and canyons as a place to relax and escape the summer heat. Adoption of the automobile and the construction of good roads vastly increased accessibility. To serve the public, but also to protect its land from

[24] Charles Peterson and Linda Speth, *A History of the Wasatch-Cache National Forest* (Logan: Utah State University, 1980), 229-30.

[25] Ibid.

being lost to the newly created National Park Service, the Forest Service started developing campgrounds, picnic grounds, and other recreational amenities.

A 1928 national forest press release titled "The Cache Playground" reported that 79,100 cars had traveled over the canyon road to Garden City the previous year, and 30,000 people had spent at least one whole day in Logan Canyon. Some 4,200 people lived in the canyon most of the summer in cabins built on lots leased from the Cache National Forest. More than 12,000 people used public campgrounds, and 14,500 boys and girls went to scout camps there.[26]

During the 1930s, the Cache National Forest continued its program to lease summer home sites, and it continued to build recreational facilities. Summer homes were developed in Logan Canyon, Smithfield Canyon, High Creek, and the east fork of Mink Creek. The decade also brought an interest in the sport of skiing. When the Logan Canyon road was opened to year-round traffic in 1939, the Mt. Logan Ski Club sought development of a ski area. Under a special use permit agreement with the Forest Service, Logan City opened a rope tow at Beaver Mountain. It consisted of a half-inch steel cable powered by an unreliable old DeSoto car engine. A small rope tow was also installed that year near Ogden on Cache National Forest land in Wheeler Basin, known today as Snowbasin.

Ski development took off following World War II. Logan City's Winter Sports Council decided to get out of the ski business, and Harold Seeholzer made a successful proposal to take over the Beaver Mountain ski area. Snowbasin put in its first chairlift the following year in 1946. By 1950, Seeholzer had added a new rope tow, a t-bar lift, and a warming shed. Even so, the sport had not yet become too fashionable. Luella Seeholzer sold lift tickets outside wearing an old army parka and air force flight boots. She put bottles of hot water in her pockets to keep her hands warm.[27]

By 1953 the Cache National Forest could boast of seventy-eight developed campgrounds and picnic areas as well as two winter sports areas. These facilities were meant to make outdoor recreation available to all segments of society including the poor. A 1950s Forest Service vacation booklet touted the national forests' recreational facilities, most of which were free to the public, stating "these opportunities are inexpensive, informal, and relatively undiscovered–open to enjoyment by everyone."[28]

The postwar era brought an expanding population, more development, and a growing environmental awareness in society. These changes brought

[26] "The Cache Playground," (n.a., n.d.)., "Cache National Forest Records," microfilm, Utah Reel 349 no. 4, Special Collections, Utah State University.

[27] "Seeholzers Build a Ski Playland," *The Logan Herald Journal*, February 27, 1970; "Snowbasin History," www.snowbasin.com/about/history.htm Accessed October 18, 2003.

[28] U.S. Forest Service, "National Forest Vacations," U.S. Forest Service Collection, Duke University Library, www.lib.duke.edu/forest/usfscoll/Recreation/NF_Vacations.html. (October 18, 2003); "Cache National Forest Map, 1953," Special Collections, Utah State University.

new ideas and challenges to forest policy in the 1960s. Summer homes on the national forest, pushed strongly in the 1920s and 1930s, had come to be seen as intrusions by Cache National Forest managers. Removal of the cabins was viewed as the only solution, and leases were allowed to expire without renewal. Off-highway vehicles had also become a problem. Ranchers complained that operators of motorized bikes (tote goats) and four-wheel drive vehicles were harassing livestock, and forest service personnel noted that the machines were causing erosion on steep trails. Education was deemed the best approach to the situation as closures would be difficult to enforce. In addition, congressionally mandated user fees were initiated at campgrounds to help provide income for the federal government's newly created Land and Water Conservation Fund. This fund was supposed to support the purchase of new recreational lands across the country.[29]

The decade also saw the Forest Service at odds with the Utah Highway Commission over the rebuilding of Highway 89 in Logan Canyon. A 1962 Cache National Forest planning document noted that the project to widen the highway had, "become of more than local importance." Conservationists opposing the project were locked in dispute with the Highway Commission and its boosters. The Cache National Forest opposed the highway plans and sought design changes, feeling that, "New highway construction in this limited area poses serious conflict with the stream, streamside vegetation, and recreational values."[30]

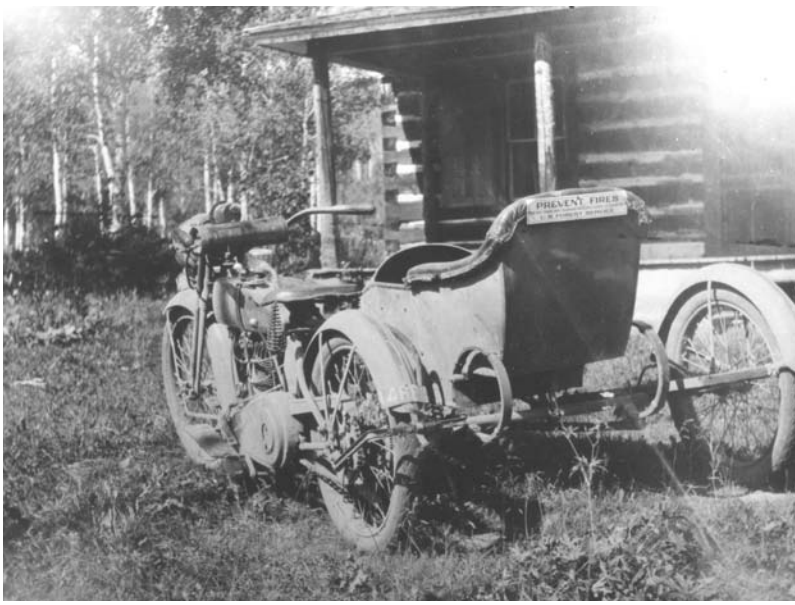
The Cache National Forest went through a major reorganization in 1973. Wanting to consolidate management units within state boundaries, the U.S. Forest Service administratively merged the Cache National Forest with the Wasatch National Forest, and its Idaho lands were placed under control of the Caribou National Forest. Logan remained the home of a ranger district, but the national forest headquarters were consolidated in Salt Lake City.

In the final decades of the twentieth century, national forest lands in northern Utah would be part of major and sometimes controversial shifts in public land management. The National Forest Management Act of 1976 created a complex process to plan the management of national forest units. The Endangered Species Act placed a new emphasis on the preservation of habitat for plants and wildlife, and the National Environmental Policy Act required environmental impact statements for many federal projects. Wilderness areas were created in the Wellsville Mountains and around Mt. Naomi as a result of the Forest Service's second Roadless Area Review and Evaluation.

Users of campgrounds and picnic areas paid increasing fees to the Land

[29] R.E. Crowell, "Cache National Forest Information and Education Analysis and Plan: Fiscal Years 1962-1966," Cache National Forest Records, microfilm, Utah Reel 349 no. 4, Special Collections, Utah State University.

[30] Crowell, "Cache National Forest Plan: 1962-1966."



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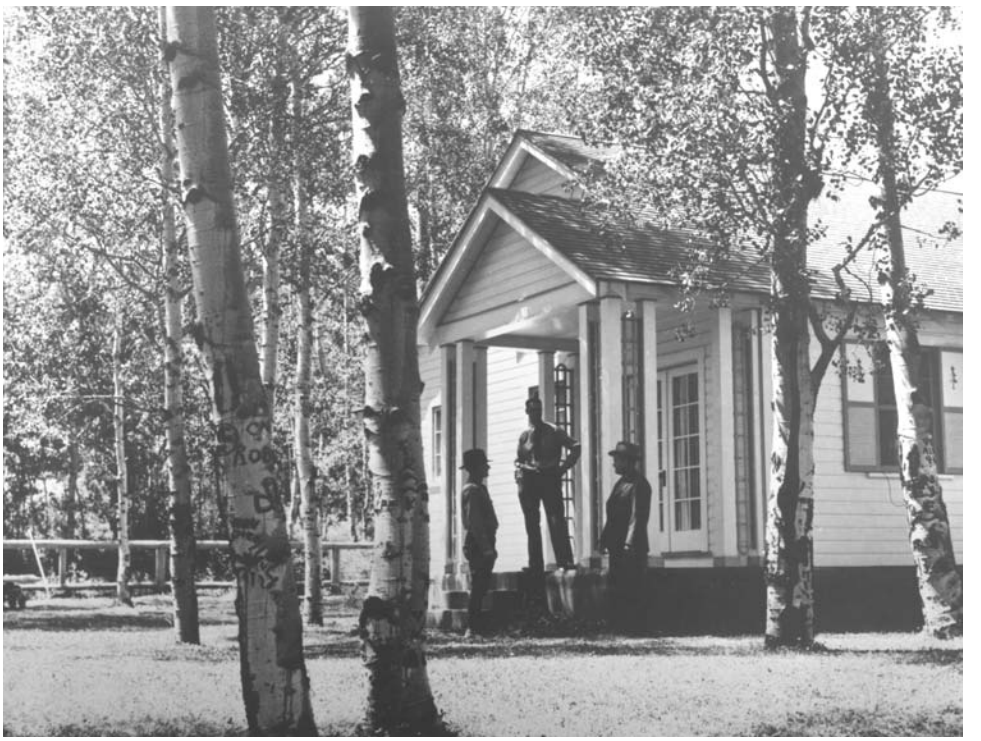
This vehicle parked in front of the Tony Grove Ranger Station in 1920 was dubbed "The Riveter."

and Water Conservation Fund, but only a fraction of these funds were used to purchase recreational lands as intended. Congress let the fund build up on paper as a way of masking part of the huge federal deficit. Because Congress seemed loath to use the Land and Water Conservation Fund, federal land managers turned more to exchanges as a way of obtaining critical lands. Unfortunately, the government often ended up on the losing end of such trades. A report of the General Accounting Office issued in 2000 stated that the government had lost millions of dollars on land exchanges, often purchasing land for more than its worth and disposing of land for less than market value. It recommended that Congress stop the Bureau of Land Management and the U.S. Forest Service from making future land exchange deals because the trades often did not serve the public interest.

Two such exchanges were visited upon the lands of the old Cache National Forest in the late 1990s. Industrialist Earl Holding had purchased Snowbasin ski area in 1984 and soon made clear his intentions to expand the facility into a four-season destination resort. To do this, Holding began negotiations with the Wasatch-Cache National Forest in 1989 to acquire hundreds of acres. Forest Service officials originally agreed to a small exchange of 220 acres, but under political pressure from Utah Senator Orrin Hatch the exchange was expanded to seven hundred acres.

Not satisfied, Holding saw an opportunity to enlarge the land deal when the 2002 Winter Olympics were awarded to Salt Lake City. Claiming that forest service lands were needed by Snowbasin to construct Olympic ski venues and amenities, Holding worked with Congressman James Hansen and Senator Hatch to introduce legislation in 1995 authorizing a trade for some one thousand three hundred acres. Though fewer than one hundred acres were actually needed to construct the Olympic facilities, Congress passed the legislation for the two square mile exchange and exempted the project from the normal NEPA review process. Snowbasin projected in its master plan that this land would eventually be developed with 199 large



PAUL S. BIELER, PHOTOGRAPHER/UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The guard station at Tony Grove, 1939.

single-family homes, 467 townhouses, 818 condominiums, 1,092 hotel rooms, and a golf course. These beautiful meadows and wetlands had offered the public outstanding cross-country skiing, hiking, and recreation opportunities. The Wasatch-Cache eventually received 11,777 acres of grazing land in widely scattered parcels to complete the trade.[31]

Three years later, a land exchange of even greater proportions was executed between the federal government and the State of Utah. Attempting to mend fences with Utah officials after the controversial creation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, the Clinton administration worked out a trade for state-owned School and Institutional Trust Lands Administration sections that were held in national parks, national forests, and other federal reservations. As part of the deal, Utah received what it classified as three thousand acres of commercial property in and around Beaver Mountain Ski Resort. Like Earl Holding, the State of Utah figured that these lands acquired from the Wasatch-Cache National Forest had outstanding potential for development.[32]

Certainly much had changed over the course of a century. In the early 1900s, citizens of northern Utah saw their water supplies shrink and

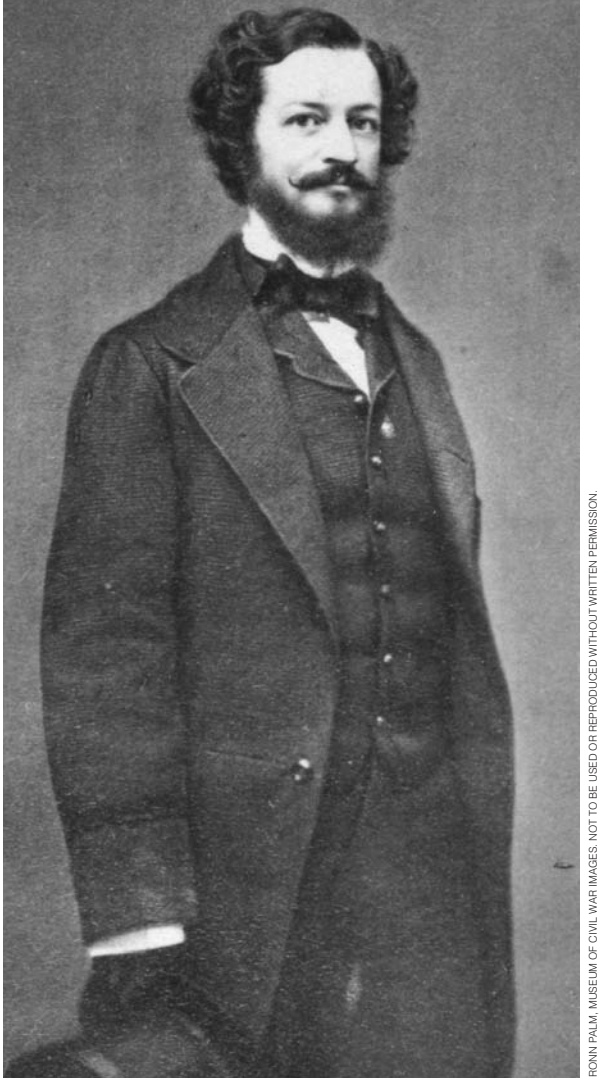
[31] *The Seattle Times*, October 1, 1998.
[32] "Utah Schools and Federal Land Exchange, May 8, 1998," www.utahtrustlands.com/pdfs/brief.pdf

become polluted due to overgrazing in the nearby mountains. They turned to the federal government to regulate resource use, protect the water supply, preserve natural beauty, and insure public access. The Cache National Forest accomplished its job so well that years later, Utah communities purchased thousands of acres of abused private lands and gave them to the agency to be rehabilitated and protected. Eventually, dust clouds were no longer kicked up by sheep herds on the mountain tops, the Logan River ran clear once again, and regular debris flows after summer storms became a thing of the past. As the century closed, success had made the national forest into prime recreational land on the doorstep of one of the West's largest urban areas.

In its next century, the Wasatch-Cache National Forest will have to deal with its success. It must balance the needs of its growing user groups, improve logging and grazing practices, protect wilderness and endangered species, and promote forest health. Managers will have to balance access with the need to collect user fees and resist attempts by developers to raid the public lands using the land exchange process. It is a far cry from the days when rangers were largely concerned with sheep grazing and fire-fighting, yet the challenge ultimately remains the same—to protect lands and watersheds while maintaining access and sustainable use.

"I Have Given Myself to the Devil": Thomas L. Kane and the Culture of Honor

By MATTHEW J. GROW



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Thomas L. Kane in 1859 at the age of thirty-seven.

Thomas L. Kane's crucial interventions in early Mormon and Utah history left an indelible print on the Utah past. A social reformer with broad interests, Kane (never a Mormon himself) saw in the Latter-day Saints the ideal object for his sympathies and philanthropic energies, and became their most prominent and persistent defender and political adviser from the 1840s to the 1880s. His exertions to improve Mormon image, promote Utah statehood, and peacefully end the Utah War shaped Utah's territorial period and have earned him both the scrutiny of historians and the grateful praise of Mormons. Even so, Kane's personal character and motivations remain enigmatic, replete with paradoxes, contrasts, and irony, difficult to discern even with (and perhaps because of) the wealth of documents he left behind.[1]

Matthew J. Grow is a doctoral student in American History at the University of Notre Dame. This paper was first presented in September 2004 as part of the Harold B. Lee Library Omnibus Lecture Series at Brigham Young University. He gratefully acknowledges the critical readings and helpful insights of William MacKinnon, George Marsden, and Patrick Mason, as well as the funding provided by the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies.

[1] Kane kept much of his correspondence and he and his wife Elizabeth also kept journals. The main repositories of Kane documents are the Thomas L. Kane and Elizabeth W. Kane Collection at L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University (hereafter BYU); and the Kane family collections at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (hereafter APS). Smaller Kane collections are housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Yale, Stanford, the University of Michigan, and the Archives of The

A northerner and an ardent abolitionist, Kane had ties to the South and felt a kinship with the southern gentry. An easterner in the age of Manifest Destiny, Kane always felt the lure (his wife Elizabeth would say temptation) of the West. A Philadelphian, a cosmopolitan urbanite, comfortable in the salons of Paris and the parlors of London, he spent most of the last twenty-five years of his life in the rustic mountains of northwestern Pennsylvania, developing an eastern frontier. His pursuit of peace during the Utah War vaulted him into the national spotlight, but his success in war-making during the Civil War ensured his continued prominence. He was a master of media "spin," particularly in his crusades to remake Mormon image and to catapult his older brother Elisha into national heroism as an Arctic explorer; but he came to despise reporters and generally preferred the shadowy world of backroom negotiations to the public spotlight. Equally repulsed and fascinated by politics, he decried the corruptness of the American political scene, but was constantly drawn towards political involvement.

A child of wealth, an American aristocrat, Kane endlessly worried about finances. Raised in a devout Presbyterian home, he flirted with atheism and with a "religion of humanity" (influenced by the French philosopher Auguste Comte), before experiencing not one, but two, evangelical conversions, though he refused to join a denomination. A Jacksonian Democrat by birth, he betrayed his family and their true "faith," first by becoming a Free Soiler, and then, even worse, a Republican.[2] An abolitionist, Kane could speak in moving terms of the humanity of blacks and Indians, and simultaneously shudder in horror at the prospects of racial mixing.[3] The diminutive Kane—described by one Mormon as "uncommonly small and feminine"—had a pattern of flamboyantly masculine gestures.[4] The complexity of his character is reminiscent of Leonard Arrington's description of Kane's good friend Brigham Young, that "like most people of real stature . . [he] contained within himself a 'harmonious human multitude.'"[5]

Some of these, of course, are contradictions only to a twenty-first century mind. Others are more intriguing and difficult to explain. To solve, at

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

Secondary scholarship on Kane has focused almost exclusively on his involvement with the Mormons. See Oscar Osburn Winter, ed., *A Friend of the Mormons: The Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane* (San Francisco: Gelber-Lilienthal, Inc., 1937); Albert L. Zobell, *Sentinel in the East: A Biography of Thomas L. Kane* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, 1965); Leonard J. Arrington, "'In Honorable Remembrance': Thomas L. Kane's Services to the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 389-402; Richard Poll, "Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1993): 112-135; Ronald W. Walker, "Thomas L. Kane and Utah's Quest for Self-Government, 1846-51," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (Spring 2001): 100-119; and Darcee D. Barnes, "A Biographical Study of Elizabeth D. Kane," (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002).

[2] For a reference to the Democratic Party as the Kanes' "faith," see Jane Duval Leiper Kane (Kane's mother) to Thomas L. Kane, October 1, 1861, BYU.

[3] On Kane's racial thought, see his unpublished manuscript, "The Africanization of America," BYU.

[4] Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 177, diary entry for July 11, 1846.

[5] Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985), xvii. Arrington was quoting Carl Van Doren's description of Benjamin Franklin.

least in part, the enigma of Kane's character requires re-immersing him in the culture and world of nineteenth-century America. One of the weaknesses of Mormon and Utah scholarship on Kane has been to see all of his life through the lens of his involvement with the Saints. Even during his life, Kane's close Mormon friends often made this error (undoubtedly encouraged by Kane himself). For instance, George Q. Cannon, one of Kane's closest Mormon friends, informed Brigham Young in 1859 that Kane had not yet joined the Republican Party, where all his "sympathies run," solely to retain his influence with President James Buchanan, a Democrat, and "thereby have more power to aid us."[6] Like later historians, Cannon thus accepted the explanatory power of Kane's relationship with the Mormons and ignored other potential reasons for Kane's reluctance to break with the Democrats, including his family's political heritage.

One part of nineteenth-century culture which can prove useful in understanding Kane's life is the culture of honor. Historians have used the term "culture of honor" to denote a cultural system most commonly associated with the antebellum South. At the heart of the culture of honor was the importance of an individual's public reputation; the opposite of honor was shame. The imperative to preserve one's reputation from slights or hints of dishonor explains many of the peculiar features of this system. The culture of honor was also closely allied with notions of hierarchy and gentility. Gentlemen sharply distinguished themselves from the lower and middle classes, and both the ideology and the rituals of the culture of honor reinforced these distinctions. A gentleman sought to preserve not only his personal honor, but also the honor of his family, being careful to ward off even the hint of scandal. The duel, the most distinguishing ritual of the culture of honor, flourished in the antebellum South.[7]

In the eighteenth century, both the North and South had shared the culture of honor, but northern mores changed rapidly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, spurred by the integration of northerners into a market economy and the expansion of evangelical religion. Honor in the North came to mean respectability, defined by freedom from illicit vices.[8] Duels in the North, especially following the ill-fated and much-lamented Alexander Hamilton-Aaron Burr duel of 1804, became increasingly rare. A wave of anti-dueling legislation swept through the northern states in the first decades of the nineteenth century; states passed libel and slander laws to give gentlemen legal recourses to defend their

[6] George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, April 14, 1859, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[7] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1890s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Kenneth Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery: lies, duels, noses, masks, dressing as a woman, gifts, strangers, humanitarianism, death, slave rebellions, the proslavery argument, baseball, hunting, and gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[8] Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor.*

good name.[9] In addition, gentility became rapidly democratized in the early 1800s, particularly in the North, as notions of meritocracy and the widespread availability of luxury goods—clocks, tablecloths, silverware—made the middle-class feel like gentlemen and ladies.[10] By contrast, southern attitudes shifted much more slowly, and the culture of honor, with its most celebrated feature, the duel, continued to be central to elite southern culture.

L. TOM PERRY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Elizabeth W. Kane in 1858 at the age of twenty-two.

Kane, the scion of a wealthy family, appears to have never been entirely comfortable in this newly democratized world. He regularly employed democratic rhetoric, but also adhered to traditional notions of class distinctions. While many of the uglier features of the culture of honor, such as misogyny and racial servitude, had little place in Kane's thought, he nevertheless maintained a sharp distinction between gentlemen and the middle and lower classes. During the Civil War, for instance, Kane often sympathized with the southern gentry, who personified for him the ideals of honor and gentility. In addition, Kane's wife Elizabeth fretted that she was not genteel enough for him. Certainly, Kane did not despise the lower classes; rather, he defended the downtrodden. But the distinction between gentlemen and those below remained in Kane's thought—those below him could be the object of his sympathy and philanthropy, but not his equals. To be sure, the culture of honor does not entirely explain Kane—other influences such as humanitarianism, republicanism, and even evangelicalism were also important—but it was one facet of his character and cultural context.

Though northerners, the Kane family was clearly influenced by the culture of honor. Antebellum Philadelphia served as a meeting-ground between the North and the South, a national center of business and culture. Kane's father, John K. Kane, a leading Democratic politician in Pennsylvania, skillfully ingratiated himself with Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and other southern Democrats. The Democratic Party had always had a southern slant, and in the 1840s and 1850s the party tilted more than ever

[9] For histories of dueling in America, see William Oliver Stevens, *Pistols at Ten Paces: The Story of the Code of Honor in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940); and Dick Steward, *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

[10] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

towards the South. John Kane worked to retain ties between the North and the South in the pre-Civil War years; as a federal judge, he issued two of the most significant and controversial legal decisions of the 1850s, both upholding the Fugitive Slave Act.[11] Praised by southerners and vilified by many northerners, John Kane became a polarizing sectional figure. The Kanes had many southern relatives, and Thomas and his siblings often spent their youthful summers in Virginia with relatives. Elisha, the oldest Kane son and Thomas's confidant, attended the University of Virginia, and Thomas's two younger brothers married into southern or southern-sympathizing families. After Elisha returned from his celebrated Arctic journeys in the mid-1850s, Thomas advised him to play the role of national hero, sympathetic to both North and South.[12] The Kanes were also well aware of the duel. In the early 1840s, Thomas once dreamed of chasing an unknown man who had wounded his father in a duel.[13] As a naval officer in the mid-1840s, Elisha Kane twice challenged one of his fellow officers to a duel, which the other officer declined.[14] Indeed, the experience of the Kane brothers suggests that honor retained its relevance to many elite northerners (especially those outside of New England) long after most historians suggest that honor lost its cultural power in the North.

Two incidents from Thomas Kane's life, both involving challenges to duels, demonstrate the influence the culture of honor exerted on his life and thought. I tell these stories with some trepidation. Reflecting on Kane's near-duel during the Utah War, his wife Elizabeth feared that the "uninspired historians of the world" would use it to tarnish his legacy.[15] Even so, these stories can enlighten, rather than blemish, Kane's life. The first incident occurred at Camp Scott, near the burned ruins of Fort Bridger, in frigid March 1858. The preceding year, President James Buchanan had dispatched an army to Utah under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston to accompany a newly appointed territorial governor, Alfred

[11] Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Ralph Lowell Eckert, "Antislavery Martyrdom: The Ordeal of Passmore Williamson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 100 (1976): 521-38. Kane's Old School Presbyterian faith may have made him more disposed to seek continued sectional ties. See Peter J. Wallace, "'The Bond of Union': The Old School Presbyterian Church and the American Nation, 1837-1861," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2004).

[12] Thomas L. Kane to Elisha Kent Kane, May 31,1855, Elisha Kent Kane Papers, APS; David Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds: Margaret Fox, Elisha Kent Kane, and the Antebellum Culture of Curiosity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 167-69.

[13] Thomas L. Kane to Elisha Kent Kane, June 10, [1841?], Elisha Kent Kane Papers, APS.

[14] Mark Metzler Sawin, "Heroic Ambition: The Early Life of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane." *American Philosophical Society Library Bulletin* (Fall 2001), n.s. 1:2. Online: www.amphilsoc.org/library/bulletin/2002/kane.htm.

[15] Elizabeth W. Kane, "The Story of the 'Mother of the Regiment,'" 97, typescript in BYU. Indeed, historians who have discussed Kane's Utah War duel challenge have generally depicted it as a comic interlude in the Utah War stand-off, missing the opportunity to delve into Kane's cultural influences. See, for instance, Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 197; and Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), 181.

Cumming, and quell a reported rebellion in Utah. The army, however, failed to reach its destination due to a late start, bungling over supplies, and harassment by the Mormon Nauvoo Legion.[16] Kane, whose involvement with the Mormons began in 1846 at age twenty-four, approached Buchanan (a fellow Pennsylvanian and sometime political rival of John Kane) in late 1857 to obtain a commission to travel to Utah and attempt to mediate the impending conflict. Buchanan gave Kane a somewhat ambiguous blessing in cautiously worded letters. Kane left Philadelphia in early January under an assumed name (of a former black servant) and posing as a botanist; he sailed to San Francisco via Panama, and then traveled overland from San Bernardino to Salt Lake City, arriving in late February 1858.[17] After consulting with Mormon leaders and urging peace upon them, he traveled to Camp Scott, arriving late on the night of March 12.[18]

Kane made a dramatic appearance at Colonel Johnston's tent the next morning. John W. Phelps, an army officer, described the scene: Kane, "without looking right or left . . . moved straight forward" to Johnston's tent "and seemed as if he wished to ride into it instead of stopping out side, so near did he urge his horse to the opening." When Johnston answered Kane's call, he could only partially leave his tent, "being stopped apparently by the man's horse whose head was nearly in the opening, and looking up in a crouched attitude, his own head being near the horse's head." Kane identified himself and asked Johnston's permission to confer with Governor Cumming, a request that Johnston granted. Phelps observed of Kane's conduct, "There was an absence of that proper deference due from one of his pretended character to an officer commanding an army of the United States."[19] Fitz-John Porter, Johnston's adjutant and close friend, was similarly unimpressed by Kane's "theatrical" arrival, writing that while Kane supposed the soldiers to be "an admiring audience," they were in reality "laughing at his conceit and self-sufficiency." When Johnston granted Kane permission to visit Cumming, Porter snickered that Kane was "led—like an ass—because an ass."[20] The military animosity against Kane quickly spread

[16] The best monograph on the Utah War remains Norman Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*. See also Donald R. Moorman with Gene Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Richard D. Poll and William P. MacKinnon, "Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 No.2 (1994): 16-44; and MacKinnon, "Epilogue to the Utah War: Impact and Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 No.2 (2003): 186-248.

[17] Besides his penchant for the dramatic and mysterious, Kane most likely traveled incognito because he feared his prominent association with the Mormons would impede his journey to Utah, given the heightened state of anti-Mormonism. His fears proved well founded, as he escaped a confrontation with anti-Mormons and apostate Mormons in San Bernardino who had guessed at his Mormon sympathies.

[18] The best account of Kane's involvement in the Utah War is Poll, "Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War."

[19] John Wolcott Phelps, Diary, March 13, 1858, original at New York Public Library, a microfilm copy at LDS Church Archives.

[20] "Extracts from the Diary of Maj. Fitz-John Porter, A. A. G. while acting with Genl. Albert Sidney Johnston in the Utah Expedition," March 13, 1858, Fitz-John Porter Papers, Container 53, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, (hereafter Porter Diary).

through Camp Scott; Captain Jesse Gove wrote his wife, "My men want to hang him. Say he is a Mormon."[21] Thus began a conflict between Kane and Johnston, which simmered for the next several days.

The succeeding events, which led Kane to challenge Johnston to a duel, are clouded by contradictory accounts and tinged by ambiguity. Johnston initially assigned a trusted aide, Captain Cuvier Grover, to watch over Kane, apparently both to protect him and his belongings and to "have an eye upon [his] movements." Porter stated that Johnston wished to secure Kane and his property "from violence, if he is a Mormon—and as many people of the camp would be inclined to injure or insult him." After Cumming informed Grover that Kane was an "accredited Agent to him," Grover apparently abandoned his attempts at surveillance.[22] Porter explained that Johnston's orderly (probably referring to Grover), who had been "in personal attendance" of Kane, said to another soldier sent to take his place, "keep an eye on the d——d Mormon." Kane and Cumming overheard the remark, and Cumming viewed "it as an intentional insult by Colonel Johnston to his guest, and hence to himself, and proposed to resort to a challenge."[23] Albert G. Browne, Jr., a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, described the source of the conflict somewhat differently. According to Browne, Johnston sent an orderly to invite Kane to dinner—"and such an invitation was no slight compliment in a camp where the rations were so abridged"—but the orderly defied orders ("whether maliciously or not it does not appear") and arrested Kane.[24]

In either case, Kane perceived the situation as more of an arrest than an invitation. He wrote, "The character of the invitation . . . was I believe regarded by those around me as an Arrest and a personal indignity of the gravest order."[25] Kane's response illustrates the crucial importance of public reputation. Whether he had actually been arrested or not was irrelevant; what mattered was what other people believed.

Infuriated by this action, Kane scrawled a letter to Johnston, accusing him of conduct "unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. I have to request immediate satisfaction. My friend [Cumming] will make the necessary arrangements for our meeting."[26] Cumming apparently convinced Kane

[21] Jesse Gove to Family, March 14-24, 1858, in Otis G. Hammond, ed., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove, 10th Inf. U. S. A., of Concord, N. H. to Mrs. Gove and Special Correspondence of the New York Herald* (Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 134.

[22] C. Grover, Camp Scott, to Major F. J. Porter, March 16. 1858, Albert Cumming Papers, Duke University, microfilm copy at the Special Collections of the University of Utah; Porter Diary, March 13, 1858.

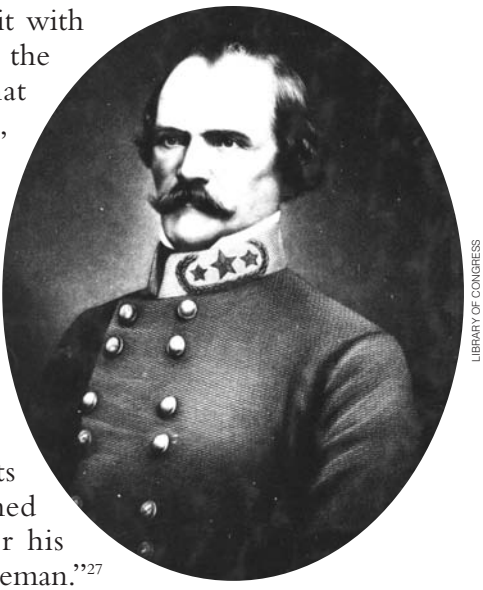
[23] William Preston Johnston, *Life of Andrew S. Johnston The Life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880; reprint, State House Press, 1997), 225.

[24] Browne, "The Utah Expedition: Its Causes and Consequences," *Atlantic Monthly* (March-May 1859): 480-81. Browne's information was second-hand, as he was absent from Camp Scott from January-May 1858; see MacKinnon, "Utah War: Epilogue," 225.

[25] Kane to Johnston, March 16, 1858, BYU.

[26] Kane to Johnston, March 13, 1858, BYU.

not to send this letter, but to replace it with one, which more explicitly explained the alleged offense. In it, Kane stated that while he consulted with Cumming, "you thought fit to issue an order to have me arrested and placed in charge of your Provost Marshal." Kane thus demanded "full explanation and retraction at your hands" as he could not "pass over such an indignity without becoming redress." Lest Johnston feel that Kane was below his social standing—gentlemen only had to respond to such requests from other gentlemen—Kane informed him that Cumming could vouch for his "social position and my right as a gentleman."[27] Kane's letters contained the code words and ritualized demands—such as the request for "satisfaction"—that unmistakably signaled the beginning of an affair of honor.



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Albert Sidney Johnston in the uniform of a Confederate general. Johnston led the United States Army into Utah in 1858. He was killed during the Battle of Shiloh on April 6, 1862.

Johnston and Cumming, both elite southerners, were no strangers to the culture of honor. Though generally opposed to dueling, Johnston had once felt compelled to answer a challenge and was wounded in the ensuing duel.[28] Cumming's brother had participated in a well-known series of duels in Georgia.[29] Nevertheless, neither Johnston nor Cumming seemed particularly enthusiastic with Kane's demands.[30] Cumming apparently did not want to exacerbate the already tense relations between civil and military authorities at Camp Scott. Though he sympathized with Kane, he seems to have declined to act as Kane's second in this affair of honor and refused to deliver the letter.[31] Another gentleman from Virginia also apparently declined to serve as Kane's second.[32]

[27] Ibid.

[28] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 148-49.

[29] Ray R. Canning and Beverly Beeton, eds., *The Genteel Gentile: Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-1858* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1977), xii.

[30] Cumming's position is somewhat unclear. Kane's personal papers seem to indicate that Cumming declined to serve as Kane's second, suggesting that Cumming did not believe a duel warranted. However, Fitz-John Porter claimed that Cumming instigated Kane's decision to challenge Johnston. Porter wrote in his diary on March 13, "The Governor became very angry, presumed Col. J. designed insulting him, and acted very childishly and in an undignified manner,—and evidently strived to make a disturbance and bring Col. J. into trouble." Johnston, *Life of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston*, 224; Porter Diary, March 13, 1858.

[31] Each participant in a duel had a second, who served as intermediaries between the combatants and ensured that each man would abide by the conventions of the duel.

[32] Browne, "The Utah Expedition," 480-81.

Kane decided to force the issue with Johnston himself the next day. He first gave Johnston an opportunity to explain his actions, suggesting the "propriety of letting me hear from you in writing with regard to the manner in which you may desire that it shd [should] be regarded by me."[33] In a second letter that day to Porter (who Kane cast in the role of Johnston's second), Kane explained his delay in issuing a challenge to Johnston, asserting that he had not wished the conflict to interfere with his official duties. The previous day, Kane had delivered a letter to Johnston from Brigham Young, which offered the army much-needed supplies as a gesture of peace. Johnston rejected the offer, declaring that he would not receive assistance from the rebellious Mormons. Having discharged this duty, Kane now felt he could pursue the matter of personal honor. He also lamented his inability to "procure some gentleman to consent to act as a friend to Mr. Kane and bearer of a message from him to Colonel Johnston."[34] Thus, he had been forced to breach duel etiquette and deliver the challenge to Johnston's second himself, rather than through the intermediary of another gentleman.

Johnston clearly did not want a confrontation and wrote letters to both Kane and Cumming, which gave Kane "satisfaction." Explaining that he had not issued any order to "constrain" Kane's movements, Johnston claimed that he had in fact given an opposite order "for the protection of his property & to prevent any inconvenience to him or molestation, while in this Camp." Johnston conceded that his order had been "incorrectly communicated," leading Grover to understand that a "surveillance in a slight degree was expected"; however, Johnston pointed out, Grover had not even exercised the surveillance after Cumming's explanation of the situation.[35]

Kane accepted Johnston's explanation, interpreting it as both an apology and a "humiliation" on Johnston's part, which satisfied the exigencies of personal honor. He believed that this "humiliation" had given him the upper hand in his relationship with Johnston, which after that time was outwardly cordial. In a letter two weeks later to his younger brother Pat, he wrote, "I have probably been well rewarded for my moderation in the matter of Col. Johnstons humiliation. It has strengthened my hands to do good, and I had besides all the satisfaction which a gentleman ought to exact."[36]

[33] Kane to Johnston, draft, March 16, 1858, 11:58 a.m., BYU.

[34] Kane, "A Memorandum of the Reasons which have occasioned the delivery of a personal communication from Mr. Kane to Colonel Johnston to be delayed," read to Major Porter by Kane at 12:30 p.m. on March 16, 1858, BYU.

[35] Johnston, Camp Scott, to Cumming, March 17, 1858; Porter, Camp Scott, to Johnston, Camp Scott, March 17, 1858, both in Cumming Papers, Duke; Johnston, Camp Scott, to Kane, March 17, 1858, BYU. Albert Browne asserted that Johnston did not even learn of Kane's attempted challenge for several days. In Browne's telling, Judge Delana Eckels informed Cumming that he had "ordered the United States Marshal to arrest all the parties concerned" if they proceeded. Fitz-John Porter's diary makes clear, however, that Johnston knew of the challenge; Porter stated that he and Johnston met with Kane on March 16, and "the trouble as to his arrest &c settled." Browne, "The Utah Expedition," 480-81; Porter Diary, March 16, 1858.

[36] Kane, Camp near Fort Bridger, to Robert Patterson Kane, April 4, 1858, BYU.

Following the resolution of the Utah War, Kane informed his wife that his dueling challenge "did not seem to him inconsistent with his mission of Peace." Rather, Kane claimed that the challenge had contributed to peace, as "the result was Johnson's [sic] apology, and indirectly, the success of his efforts."[37]

In another letter, Kane instructed his father (who unbeknownst to him had died a month earlier) and Pat to take actions to guard his reputation should Johnston attack him. They had not dueled, he explained, because both "gentlemanly propriety" and "every sense of Christian magnanimity orders me to spare a man whose apology has humbled him as much as this unfortunate's." However, if Johnston publicly criticized him—should "his letter writers and newspaper men dare to falsify the facts"—Kane wanted his relatives to use their extensive newspaper connections to denounce Johnston in the national press. He wanted it to appear as if he had not orchestrated the press response, as "my hand had better not be seen in the matter."[38]

Kane's actions would be easily explainable if he were a southern gentleman.[39] Very few northerners were still issuing challenges to duel by this time.[40] While Kane's initial actions at Camp Scott probably reflected his penchant for dramatic entrances and may have been a negotiating strategy, they also suggest his affinity for the culture of honor. Elizabeth Kane explained, "Under certain circumstances Tom approves of duelling—as a terror to evil-doers whom the law cannot or will not reach." While she did not approve of his dueling, Elizabeth described her husband as "of the 'Church Militant,' always generous, always unselfish, humble sometimes, but sometimes as fiery and impetuous as Saint Columba himself."[41] Even with this rocky start, Kane soon convinced Cumming to come without troops to Salt Lake City and claim his governorship, an overture of peace which proved crucial in ending the Utah War without further bloodshed.

Kane's second challenge to duel occurred three years later during the Civil War, and gives an intriguing glimpse into the politics of northern

[37] Elizabeth W. Kane, "Mother of the Regiment," 98.

[38] Thomas L. Kane to John K. Kane and Robert Patterson Kane, [ca. April 1858], BYU.

[39] Another Utah War duel challenge involved two southerners: Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, a civilian guide for the Utah Expedition, and John W. Powell, a mountaineer, were arrested in May 1858 for planning a duel. See David L. Bigler, *Fort Limhi: The Mormon Adventure in Oregon Territory, 1855-1858* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 312.

[40] An interesting exception also involved a Utah War participant. In May 1858, Col. Edwin V. Sumner, a native of Massachusetts and cousin of the abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner, was tried by court-martial for challenging Brigadier-General William S. Harney (a native of Tennessee who had been the Utah Expedition's commander before Johnston) to a duel. See William P. MacKinnon, "Review Essay," *New Mexico Historical Review* 76 (October 2001): 431-37.

[41] Elizabeth W. Kane, "Mother of the Regiment," 98. Elizabeth's description of her husband's views of dueling as a "terror to evil-doers" is influenced by Romans 13:3. Saint Columba was a sixth-century Irish missionary monk, whose dispute with another priest over the ownership of a psalter led to an actual battle. As penance, Columba traveled to Scotland, where he helped reintroduce Christianity. John Coulson, *The Saints: A Concise Biographical Dictionary* (London: Burns & Oates, 1958), 134.

military life. Upon the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861, Kane immediately telegraphed Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin and offered to raise a regiment of men in the "Wild-Cat" district of northwestern Pennsylvania. Curtin accepted, making Kane the first Pennsylvanian to volunteer for military service against the South. Kane successfully raised his regiment, known as the Bucktails or the Kane Rifle Regiment.[42] Kane's military title of Lieutenant Colonel was essentially an honorary one, procured through his father's political influence almost two decades previously.[43] As such, Kane quietly recruited another Philadelphia lawyer and heir of a famous political family, Charles J. Biddle, who had served in the Mexican-American War, to lead the regiment. Displaying his keen sense of pageantry, Kane had himself elected Colonel and then stepped aside for Biddle, while accepting the post of Lieutenant Colonel.[44] The newspapers hailed Kane's patriotism in placing country above self while others scurried to secure rank.[45] Kane also expressed his approval, writing home, "the election of Biddle having relieved me from responsibility, I eat and sleep like a porker and fatten accordingly."[46]

Over the next few months, however, tensions between Kane and Biddle mounted. At first, Kane did not want their differences to be publicly known. He and Biddle had clashed, Kane wrote to Elizabeth, because "the duality of our command has been an embarrassment to both of us." Even so, he did not want a "whisper breathed" of their difficulties. He explained, "I treat him on principle magnificently—besides that I personally like him. If I were his dependent or if he could forget he has been mine we wd. [would] love one another."[47] Casting himself in the role of Biddle's intellectual superior, he asserted, "Thinking governs the world . . . I am not afraid of any town cockney leading an army far when I am on hand."[48]

Both electoral politics and military campaigns produced fissures in Kane's relationship with Biddle. In a special election on July 2, 1861, Philadelphians chose Biddle, an aspiring Democrat, as their new congressman. One Philadelphia Republican denounced Biddle as "very southern in his sympathies, opposed to this war &, tho now serving in the army, very far from sympathizing with the purposes of the government." Biddle's service in the army, however, proved his loyalty to many

[42] For a history of the unit, see Edwin A. Glover, *Bucktailed Wildcats: A Regiment of Civil War Volunteers* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1960).

[43] On Kane's initial appointment as Lieutenant Colonel, see Francis Shunk to Jane D. Kane, January 29, 1846, John K. Kane Papers, APS.

[44] Kane to Major Charles Biddle, June 7, 1861, BYU. Biddle (1819-1873) was the son of Nicholas Biddle, second president of the Bank of the United States who had clashed over political issues with John K. Kane.

[45] "Magnanimity," newspaper clipping, n.d.; "The New Commandant of Camp Curtis," newspaper clipping, n.d., in BYU.

[46] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, June 30, 1861, BYU.

[47] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, September 16, 1861, BYU.

[48] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, September 11, 1861, BYU.

voters.[49] In contrast, Kane chose the elections that fall to publicly break with the Democratic Party. Largely because of his abolitionist sympathies, Kane had long been ill at home in the Democratic Party. His mother implored, "pray do not abandon the political path of your Father—keep quiet; what have you who are fighting under the stars and stripes to be sending a renunciation of your faith."[50] Kane ignored his mother's pleadings and opposed Biddle's attempts to "harvest my Regimental vote for the Democrats."[51]

Biddle waited until December to resign from the army and take his seat in Congress full-time. In the meantime, the Bucktails participated in a campaign in western Virginia during summer 1861, in which Kane believed that Biddle had acted much too timidly, and Biddle in turn saw Kane's actions as "a little unpractical, a little visionary, theoretic, reckless, or rash."[52] Biddle, much to Kane's chagrin, refused to cross into Confederate territory, even to protect Union men who were undergoing what Kane described as a "Reign of Terror." Kane viewed Biddle's actions as politically motivated, with Biddle attempting to increase his support with Democratic voters wary of the Lincoln administration's prosecution of the war. Elizabeth Kane, meanwhile, feared her husband's rashness and was pleased that Biddle acted "as a drag on your wheels."[53]

Nevertheless, Kane ignored—in his words "transcended"—Biddle's orders and led a small group of men across the Mason-Dixon line to protect the "Union men" and their property. Kane also successfully engaged in a small fight against a Confederate cavalry unit. According to Kane, his actions forced Biddle, "this Defender of the South," to finally cross into southern territory. Even worse in Kane's eyes, Biddle assumed credit for Kane's successes while continuing his own inactivity. The soldiers began to refer to Biddle as their "drilling Colonel" and Kane as their "fighting Colonel," labels which undoubtedly increased tensions between the two men. Kane also charged that Biddle suppressed various reports, which Kane had prepared for officers higher up the military chain-of-command.[54] Finally, Biddle offended Kane by supporting the renaming of the unit from the Kane Rifle Regiment to the more generic 13th Pennsylvania Rifles.[55]

Even so, when Biddle left for Washington, D.C. in late November, relations between him and Kane remained at least outwardly warm. To his

[49] Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), 395.

[50] Jane Duval Leiper Kane to Thomas L. Kane, October 1, 1861, BYU.

[51] Thomas L. Kane to Salmon P. Chase, draft, January 7, 1862, BYU.

[52] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 7, 1861, BYU.

[53] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, September 3, 1861, BYU.

[54] Kane outlined his differences with Biddle most fully in an undated manuscript at BYU. Kane's allegations are partially given credence by the existence of a Brigham Young to Kane letter in Biddle's papers, which Biddle apparently either intercepted or failed to deliver to Kane. See Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, September 21, 1861, Charles J. Biddle Papers, Biddle Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[55] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, September 23-25, 1861, BYU.

wife, Kane described his parting with Biddle in the sentimental language of the day: "B. was affected to tears on parting with me! — Stranger still, my symptoms corresponded. I miss him, shockingly, too."[56] Soon after, however, Kane discovered that Biddle had conspired to block his election to replace Biddle as Colonel. Kane wrote Elizabeth in early December, "B. has hit me hard, but I am working up against it hopefully."[57] Kane's younger brother Pat, also a Philadelphia lawyer and a friend of Biddle's, began to intervene to assure his election. Pat queried Biddle, "Can there be any 'hitch' in the way of his taking command of the Rifles?"[58] Biddle assured Pat that he knew of no difficulty in Kane's election as Colonel.[59] Pat accepted Biddle's response and told his brother, "Any such breach of faith in the quarter referred to is scarcely credible."[60] On Kane's invitation, Pat traveled to Washington, D.C., near the Bucktails' camp, to further assist in his election.

Both Elizabeth and Pat feared that Kane was judging Biddle too harshly. Elizabeth counseled her husband, "I am sure that no one could be so base, as to attempt to put another in your proper place, if he vacates it."[61] Even as Kane became confident of Biddle's treachery, Elizabeth continued to defend Biddle, reminding her husband that Biddle had drilled the Bucktails into a legitimate fighting unit. Biddle, she opined, would not "wish to raise an inferior over your head. It is too unprofessional."[62] While Kane thanked his wife for "exhorting me to see the other side," his resolve remained unchanged.[63] Upon returning to Philadelphia from Washington in mid-December, Pat informed Elizabeth of Kane's intention to challenge Biddle and argued that they should not interfere, "but let him finish out his plan."[64]

Elizabeth heartily disapproved of dueling. Two years earlier, the Kane brothers had criticized the "conduct of a gentleman who had not challenged another when they deemed it necessary." Elizabeth disagreed, stating, "I can see that it may be essential that a finished man of the world may be a duelist, but no shadow of reason that a Christian should." She hoped that her infant son would accept a different standard of masculinity, praying that he would "excel in any manly exercise, and the consciousness of ability may help him to maintain the much greater courage of braving the world's tongue if he should be called a coward." Elizabeth succinctly recorded their disagreement in her diary: "Tom thinks a man has to fight in some cases. I do not."[65]

[56] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, November 24, 1861, BYU; Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, November 28, 1861, BYU.

[57] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, December 3, 1861, BYU.

[58] Robert Patterson Kane to Charles J. Biddle, December 4, 1861, BYU.

[59] Biddle to Robert Patterson Kane, December 5, 1861, BYU.

[60] Robert Patterson Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 6, 1861, BYU; Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 14, 1861, BYU.

[61] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, November 22, 1861, BYU.

[62] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 7, 1861, BYU.

[63] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, December 10, 1861, BYU.

[64] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 14, 1861, BYU.

[65] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 13, 1861, BYU.

Elizabeth was thus torn between her desire to be a dutiful wife—"I have kept Tom from being successful," she lamented, "because he has tried to combine my advice and his own opinion and they are diametrically opposed"—and her desire to be a good Christian—"I am very unhappy for I grieve lest my dear Tom should be wronging an innocent man."[66] For the next week, Elizabeth heard nothing from her husband. She diarized, "I am very unhappy, for I dread Pat or Tom getting into a duel, and I greatly fear that Tom judges Biddle unjustly."[67] However, Elizabeth promised Kane to "no more hamper you in the course you intend taking, by my letters."[68] The following day, she wrote (not quite keeping her promise), "if my letters hampered you, was it because they interfered with your acting in a Christian manner? Are you not a Christian?" She urged him to forsake the dictates of the culture of honor for the commandments of Christianity.[69] In the week of silence, she continued "very very anxious." "Either you are sick, or you are doing something you know would grieve me," she wrote.[70]

By December 13, Kane had decided to challenge Biddle to a duel and only was awaiting Biddle's official resignation from the army, so that the Articles of War, which banned duels, would no longer apply. Kane wrote to Colonel George D. Bayard that he wished to "publicly expose, humiliate, and, if he shows pluck enough, horsewhip and shoot the offending traitor."[71] Four days later, following Biddle's formal resignation, Bayard (acting as Kane's second) delivered Kane's challenge to Biddle: "My time has come. The acceptance of your resignation places you out of the protection of the Articles of War. If you can shoot me I will not have you sent to Fort Lafayette.[72] Otherwise I shall denounce you as a traitor and intriguer as well as an ingrate and a liar."[73]

When Bayard delivered the note, however, Biddle "expostulated with him for twenty minutes." Kane viewed this as an "impropriety," a violation of the rituals surrounding duels, since Bayard's purpose "was to deliver that note and not listen to explanations or apologies."[74] For his part, Biddle wrote a friend that Kane's actions placed him outside of "the class of responsible persons" since his "alleged grievances" were "hallucinations"; thus, Biddle was not compelled to "answer or notice his communication."[75] Indeed, Biddle considered Kane's challenge "one of many other exhibitions

[66] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 14, 1861, BYU.
[67] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 19, 1861, BYU.
[68] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 15, 1861, BYU.
[69] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 16, 1861, BYU.
[70] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 19-21, 1861, BYU.
[71] Thomas L. Kane to Bayard, December 13, 1861, BYU. Bayard, then colonel of the 1st Pennsylvania Cavalry Volunteers, had been under orders to Utah during the summer of 1858 as a second lieutenant with the First U. S. Cavalry. He died in December 1862 from wounds received at Fredericksburg.
[72] Fort Lafayette was an imposing military prison in New York often called the "American Bastille."
[73] Thomas L. Kane to Biddle, December 17, 1861, BYU; copy also in Charles J. Biddle Collection, HSP.
[74] Thomas L. Kane to Biddle, December 19, 1861, BYU.
[75] Biddle to Captain McPherson, December 20, 1861, Biddle Collection, HSP.

of disordered intellect given by the writer."[76] Two days later, Kane again sent the challenge, though this time his own brother Pat intercepted Bayard and persuaded him to not deliver it. Infuriated, Kane again sent the challenge and wrote Biddle, "Have you no sense of shame to prevent your continuing to call upon me and my family for favors? I now for the first time sty[g]matise you as a coward."[77] Pat, stung by his brother's insinuation that he had acted contrary to his interest, explained that he desired Kane to pursue a course which would not lead to a duel, but rather force Biddle to make a "humiliating apology" which would have been "the most killing thing he could do."[78]

Preparations for the duel stalled the next day as the Bucktails were unexpectedly called into battle. Kane's capable leadership at the battle of Dranesville (fought about twenty miles from Washington near a small Virginia town), a Union victory amidst a sea of northern setbacks, vaulted him into the national spotlight. Kane received a ball in the cheek and remained very ill for the next few weeks. Nevertheless, he continued in his determination to duel. Kane wanted to "post" Biddle, which meant publishing the challenge and publicly calling Biddle a coward. Bayard (cognizant of the army regulations forbidding dueling) rejected this course saying, "I do not wish to be mixed up publicly in this matter." Besides, Kane had not given Biddle a chance to explain his actions, and Bayard feared the "world will say" that Kane "forced this thing on without permitting an explanation," which would also be a breach in the duel ritual.[79] Kane wrote the Secretary of War, fellow Pennsylvanian Simon Cameron, claiming that "our punctured bladder ex-Brigadier Biddle of the Home Guards" would "challenge now that he hears I am under Surgeon's orders to be upon my back and shut my eyes."[80]

Kane also faced a regimental election slated for late January, and his opponents were already using his challenge against him, appealing to "those opposed to a barbarous code" and accusing Kane of "trying to assassinate Mrs. Biddle's spouse."[81] Kane's principal opponent, Hugh W. McNeil, a captain in the regiment, even accused Kane of encouraging a duel between McNeil and another possible candidate: "Kane was fanning the flame, to get me popped out of his way, or disgrace me in the service, or have me cashiered for being implicated in a duel."[82] Kane instructed Elizabeth to remain in Philadelphia as she could do "more good to me in the convent." He warned, "do not be the apologist of Bididdle even in your thoughts."[83]

[76] Biddle's note on Thomas L. Kane to Biddle, December 17, 1861, Biddle Collection, HSP.
[77] Thomas L. Kane to Biddle, December 19, 1861, BYU.
[78] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, January 19, 1862, BYU.
[79] Bayard to Thomas L. Kane, December 21, 1861, BYU.
[80] Thomas L. Kane to Simon Cameron, December 23, 1861, BYU.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Hugh W. McNeil to Marion, January 23, 1862, Hugh W. McNeil Collection, Pennsylvania State Archives.
[83] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, December 23, 1861, BYU. Kane had begun to derisively call his opponent "Bididdle."

She praised him for his heroism at Dranesville, but added, "I hope your well earned satisfaction is untarnished by a fight with Biddle! . . . It is the only thing that keeps me from walking full two inches taller. I am so proud of my wounded hero!"[84]

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Thomas L. Kane attained the rank of Brigadier General in the northern army during the American Civil War.

Elizabeth ignored her husband's request and came to Washington to help nurse him back to health. Kane initially refused to even speak with her, but Elizabeth confronted him about his plans to "shoot Biddle." Finally, Kane "raised his poor wounded face and weary fevered eyes and said 'You, why have you come? I have given myself to the devil and he will give me my revenge.'" Elizabeth argued, "And are you happy, Tom?" "I shall have justice" came the response. "Will you be happy then?" "I don't care for happiness, I shall have justice." She pressed him, using his recent conversion to Christianity, "Tom would it please Christ?" He conceded that it would not, but the appeal did not alter his intentions. Despairing as to how to save her husband from what she feared would be eternal damnation, Elizabeth made one final plea, "Tom, when we parted last you put on my ring to wed me for Eternity too. If you choose to damn your own soul, mine shall go too." Alluding to her medical training, she threatened, "I swear that when you fight a duel, whether you live or die, I will cut my throat. You know I know how to do it." At last Kane relented, expressing concern for their children, and told Elizabeth "all the temptations the devil spread before him." Kane feared he would "still lose his life," as Biddle, "urged by his friends to retrieve his honour," would challenge him; Elizabeth would "only tie his hands and deliver him to be murdered."[85]

[84] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, December 22, 1861, BYU.
[85] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 28, 1861, BYU.

This dramatic scene illustrates in microcosm—both between the Kanes and within Thomas Kane himself—one of the great cultural struggles of the nineteenth century, between an older ethic of the culture of honor and a newer set of ideals promulgated by evangelical Christianity, which in the decades before the Civil War had begun to tame and would eventually overwhelm the dictates of the culture of honor.[86] Even though Elizabeth was now convinced that "Biddle has behaved abominably" and that he "is base, lying, and treacherous," she still feared that Kane would lose his soul if he dueled.[87] On her urging, he promised not to engage in a duel and to instead seek peace in Christ. Kane's acceptance of Christianity rather than honor freed his mind from the distress he felt at "Biddle's ungrateful courses. I feel very independent of the world."[88]

Elizabeth, however, continued to worry about Kane possibly reissuing a challenge for a duel in order to protect his reputation. "Curse the evil code that allows well concealed slanders to work freely, and make it the risk of a man's life who has wife and children dependent upon him to speak the truth and clear himself!" She urged him to "bear no malice," but to also defend his reputation where he had the records to prove Biddle's wrongdoing. However, Biddle's "evil carefulness, and your magnanimous carelessness" meant that Kane had few records which showed Biddle's treachery. Therefore, she counseled, in view of the upcoming regimental election, make "no unnecessary mention of him," as "I would not have you succeed by denouncing B."[89]

On January 22, 1862, Kane lost the election to McNeil. Elizabeth consoled her husband, "I am prouder of my Lieut Col's shoulder straps than I was of the hero of Dranesville, for they are the token of a nobler victory."[90] Despairing after his loss, Kane threatened to resign his post and re-enlist as a private. Now it was Elizabeth who warned that this would "be a stain upon your honour." But she quickly added, "my dear Tom, don't let the devil get the better of you about Biddle. Don't forget my threat."[91] Elizabeth rejected the dichotomy which Kane had drawn between the culture of honor and Christianity. While she despised dueling, she nevertheless wanted Kane to have worldly honor, instructing him to "explain your position and justify yourself to those who ought to know."[92] Kane chose not to resign and some months later received a commission as a Brigadier General, thus taking him from his beloved regiment, but also freeing him from the shame of serving under his former subordinate McNeil.

[86] Christine Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Knopf, 1997).
[87] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, December 26-28, 1861, BYU.
[88] Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, January 5, 1862, BYU.
[89] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 5, 1862; Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 21, 1862, BYU.
[90] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 23, 1862, BYU.
[91] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 28, 1862, BYU.
[92] Elizabeth W. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 30, 1862, BYU.

Besides these instances of near-duels, does the culture of honor help us understand Kane's life more broadly? Many of the most prominent episodes in his life can be illuminated in part by reference to the culture of honor. For instance, following the death in 1857 of Kane's famous older brother Elisha, the Kane family spent much of their time and resources over the next decade attempting to protect his name from shame.[93] Elisha had become romantically involved with Margaret Fox, a lower-class woman from rural New York who along with her sister Kate ignited the spiritualist craze of the 1850s by claiming the ability to communicate with spirits of the deceased through a system of rappings. The Fox sisters became renowned in the 1850s and held well-attended séances throughout the country. The Kane family greatly opposed Elisha's relationship with Margaret, and Elisha had pressed Margaret to remake herself in the image of the Philadelphia elite. After Elisha's death, Margaret claimed that she and Elisha had secretly married, though they had never lived together as man and wife. She threatened that unless Elisha's estate—which included substantial ongoing royalties from his best-selling books on his Arctic adventures—supported her as his widow, she would publish a book of their love letters, a move she knew would scandalize the Kanes.

Since the defense of family honor was a central tenet of the culture of honor, the Kanes immediately swung into action to prevent the publication of letters, which would damage Elisha's reputation. Elizabeth Kane lamented that Fox's actions would bring "shame and scandal upon our honored name." The threat of shame, as much or more than the possibility of financial loss, explains the Kane's actions over a number of years to suppress publication of the letters. Poverty was preferable to shame. "If Tom had the money," Elizabeth asserted, "I know he would save Elisha at any cost, if he did not fear for me and the children."[94] The Kanes paid Margaret a monthly sum until the early 1860s, when they took legal action to halt publication of the letters. According to family legend, the litigation was finally resolved when Thomas Kane threatened the opposing lawyers "with a promise of a pistol full of real ammunition."[95] In any case, the letters were published in 1866, long after most Americans cared whether or not Elisha had once loved a spiritualist. Even so, the episode reveals the lengths that Thomas and the other Kanes would go to protect their family reputation and honor.

Finally, does Kane's immersion in the culture of honor help explain his defense of the Latter-day Saints? An intriguing statement by Kane in an 1850 letter to Brigham Young suggests that it might. Kane first became involved with the Mormons in 1846, with an eye of accompanying the

[93] The information on Elisha Kane and Margaret Fox is taken from Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds*; Sawin, "Raising Kane" book manuscript in possession of author, based on Sawin's 2001 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Texas, Austin; and my own readings in the Kane collection at BYU.

[94] Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, March 28, 1862, BYU.

[95] E. Kent Kane (Thomas L. Kane's grandson) to George Corner, October 8, 1969, BYU.

Saints to California, writing a travel narrative, and perhaps even becoming the first American governor of California.[96] He, however, became seriously ill while in the Mormon camps near Council Bluffs, Iowa, in August 1846, and the Mormons nursed him back to health. He subsequently threw himself into molding Mormon public image through newspaper articles, public meetings, lectures, and pamphlets. Such actions earned him praise from like-minded philanthropists, but also inspired others to attack Kane personally, calling him, among other horrors, a Mormon.[97] Indeed, before Kane left on his initial encounter with the Mormons, his own father feared that such an association would damage his son's "character as a right minded man, which he will feel through life."[98]

Kane explained his position to Young, "I was committed myself beyond recovery to the course wch [which] I had afterwards to pursue, and then from being your friend in the sense of your second in an affair of honor it happened that the personal assaults upon myself made your cause so identified with my own, that your vindication became my own defence as partners in iniquity we were compelled either to stand or fall together."[99] As his personal reputation became so intertwined with the broader image of the Latter-day Saints, Kane pledged to act as their "second in an affair of honor," a course from which he refused to deviate over the ensuing three decades. Kane thus employed the central image of the culture of honor to metaphorically describe his relationship with the Saints. Improving the public reputation of the Saints was thus of primary importance to Kane; doing so became a way to defend his personal and family honor.

[96] Mark Metzler Sawin, "A Sentinel for the Saints: Thomas Leiper Kane and the Mormon Migration," *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (1998): 7-27.

[97] Author unknown to Thomas L. Kane, [summer 1846], BYU; Elizabeth W. Kane Journal, April 4, 1858, BYU; David J. Whittaker, "New Sources on Old Friends: The Thomas L. Kane and Elizabeth W. Kane Collection," *Journal of Mormon History* 27 (Spring 2000): 90-94.

[98] John L. Kane to Elisha K. Kane, May 16, 1846, Elisha K. Kane Papers, APS.

[99] Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young and "dear friends," July 11, 1850, draft, BYU; the received copy of this letter is in the Brigham Young Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Defense of Deseret: An Examination of LDS Church Trade Politics and Development Efforts in the American West

By CHRISTOPHER J. GARRETT

The settlement by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the American West is one of the most unusual episodes in American history. Over a thirty-year period beginning in 1849, tens of thousands of Mormons immigrated to an isolated region of the Great Basin in the American West. By the death of Brigham Young in 1877, a vast network of settlements stretching throughout modern-day Utah, Idaho, Arizona, and Nevada formed a large autonomous region known to believers as the "State of Deseret."

Among economists and historians, this period of epic migration and settlement has drawn special interest. In the words of one historian, "The LDS church was more or less in charge of the economy."[1] Church leaders told their followers where to settle and what to build. They directed the construction of roads, schools, and irrigation systems. The church printed money and promoted commercial and indus-

The Washington Cotton Factory in Utah's Dixie was a key part of the pioneer attempt to establish a viable cotton industry in southern Utah during the 1860s.

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[1] Stephen J Thompson, "Mormon Economics, 1830 to 1900: The Interaction of Ideas and Environment" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1973), 83.

trial enterprises such as sugar mills and iron works. In many ways, the church was as much a secular government as it was a religious institution. Under its instruction, the Mormons formed a meager but relatively stable community.

However isolated Utah society might have been, the territory was caught up in the broader economic changes sweeping across the United States. Cheaper transportation costs with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, better communications following the completion of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861, and increased investment and immigration from the east constantly pushed Utah's economy towards greater integration with the rest of the country.

Brigham Young and the leadership of the church attempted to establish economic programs to forestall these economic challenges. Unlike other western states and territories, Utahns viewed excessive commercial ties to the east as a disruptive threat to their society. This fear was partly due to unique Mormon theology and partly due to secular concerns of economic ruin. The American economy in this era had been subject to a series of depressions and panics, most notably in 1837. The LDS faithful, many of whom had been badly affected in the crises, were understandably fearful of tying their economic well-being to the seemingly unstable American economy.[2] To forestall this danger of entanglement with "Babylon," the Mormon church enacted a bewildering variety of economic policies, which were intended to create an independent, isolated, and self-sufficient community autonomous from the outside world.

Many fine economic studies have documented the LDS colorful economic efforts between their arrival in the Salt Lake valley in 1847 and their integration into the national society in the 1880s and 1890s, but most research, although well done, has become dated. Studies published in the 1950s and 1960s came at a time when economic orthodoxy was sympathetic to centralized planning and controlled markets. Feramorz Y. Fox and Stephen J. Thompson, for example, focused on how communal action allowed the Mormon church to thrive, especially in the rugged environment of the Great Basin. They argued that centralized decision making, collective action, and a tightly controlled economy were keys to the Mormon success. The comments of Leonard J Arrington, perhaps the most influential of the economic historians, typify this view: "Only a high degree of religious devotion and discipline, and superb organization and planning, made survival possible."[3]

This thinking is at odds with the current trend in theories of economic development. Since the time of historians like Fox and Arrington, thinking on growth and industrialization has shifted in focus. The processes by

[2] Ibid.

[3] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 89.

which regions change from underdeveloped hinterlands to prosperous metropoli have been exhaustively studied. From these studies have emerged a group of widely embraced policy suggestions known as the "Washington Consensus." The Consensus urges restrained government spending; limited but well-enforced taxation; minimal restrictions on outside investment and capital; privatization of state-owned businesses; and vigorous, well-protected property rights. Most of all Consensus proponents argue that the flow of goods across borders be open and liberalized— that trade be "free."[4] Even though not all economists agree with consensus orthodoxy, its prescriptions are widely followed by policymakers. In practice, this "Washington Consensus" guides the majority of today's trade policy.

The LDS church's economic program, with its limits on external trade and its focus on communalism, couldn't be further from the Consensus ideal. Brigham Young and his advisors would be radically out of place in today's atmosphere of trade liberalization. Yet the Mormons' actions should not be seen as a historical aberration, unique and isolated. Mormon pioneer policy bears an uncanny resemblance to an important movement in modern economic policy: the inward-turning strategies popular with underdeveloped countries during the three decades following World War II.

These "inward-turning strategies" are characterized by a desire for domestic industry, a distrust of foreign businesses, and acceptance of government involvement in the market mechanism. As one economist recently summarized it, "protectionist theories…became dominant… and for decades the majority of developing countries implemented industrialization policies based on a very limited degree of international openness."[5] Throughout the world, developing countries tried to industrialize by keeping out imports and developing local replacements. They used strategies ranging from the "import-substitution" of Latin America, to the "third way" of India and the non-aligned countries of Africa, to the centralized planning of China and the socialist bloc.[6] These strategies were similar to the Mormon church's goals, and even used similar rhetoric. Both groups of policies were markedly hostile to entanglements with foreign economies.

Today's observer of Mormon economics faces a contradiction: some scholars hold that the church's centralized planning and isolationism was the glue which enabled a struggling community to survive in a harsh desert land. Believers in the Washington Consensus, however, would argue that in fact the church's policies hindered development, and a more economically liberal and individualistic regime likely would have been more efficient.

[4] John Williamson, "Democracy and the Washington Consensus," *World Development* 21 (1993): 1331. Sebastian Edwards, "Openness, Trade Liberalization, and Growth in Developing Countries," *Journal of Economic Literature* 31 (September 1993): 1358.

[5] Stuart R. Lynn, *Economic Development in the Third World* (Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003): 270-75, 338-42.

[6] J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, Larry T. Wimmer, "Household Wealth in a Settlement Economy: Utah, 1850-1870," *The Journal of Economic History* 40 (September 1980): 477-96.

By re-examining the industrial development of the Mormon church in the pioneer period, I will explore the accuracy of both views. I will explain why, if the church's development efforts were as inefficient as modern economists would expect, the Mormon settlers continued to support such economic policies. And by detailing the parallels between the Mormon program and modern isolationism, I hope to explain why many modern citizens and policy-makers continue to support inward-turning stances, despite harsh criticism from economic orthodoxy.

The attempt of any undeveloped economy to transform itself is fraught with difficulties, and the Mormon experience in Utah was no different. The Mormon's harried exodus from Nauvoo and elsewhere in the east to the Great Basin frontier badly damaged their economic potential. Individual Mormon settlers left most of their property, wealth, and tools leaving them desperately poor and ill-equipped for development in Utah.[7] As with individual members, the church, itself, was also in poor financial condition, having defaulted on significant debts to eastern investors.

The mountainous Wasatch Front and the eastern Great Basin to which the settlers came was completely undeveloped. The lack of a basic infrastructure of roads, irrigation canals, and a communication network was particularly vexing because they faced shortages of oxen, horses, wagons, iron, and other resources needed to develop the land. Their technology was woefully unsophisticated by the standards of the times: according to one historian, "only the simplest hand tools were available."[8] The Great Basin's isolation and distance from manufacturing centers meant that both imports and exports were tremendously expensive.[9]

This self-reinforcing combination of scarce capital, low technology, and nonexistent infrastructure often plagues Third-World countries, especially in the earliest years of their independence. In many countries, separation from a colonial power depletes what little infrastructure and capital exists. Just like a Mormon community, these new governments' economic planners faced a challenging shortage of resources and institutions.

Yet Mormons had one great potential advantage: tremendous natural resources. The mountains surrounding the Great Salt Lake Valley were filled with a metallic rainbow of large deposits of gold, silver and especially copper, as well as the more mundane but equally useful resources found elsewhere in the territory such as gypsum, lead, lime, and coal. The famed Great Salt Lake was a source of salt and much later magnesium.[10]

Similarly, Third-World countries, as well, often have tremendous natural resources. In such cases, the extraction and exportation of raw materials

[7] Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation among the Mormons," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,*. 31 (May 1917): 466.

[8] Langdon White, "The Insular Integrity of Industry in the Salt Lake Oasis," *Economic Geography* 1(July 1925): 228.

[9] Ibid., 209-20

[10] Lynn, *Economic Development*, 330.

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The scarcity of hard currency in territorial Utah led local leaders to coin and print currency, such as this certificate dated Sept. 27, 1858, for circulation in Utah.

seems promising. Economic prospectuses of third-world economies in the early postwar years of the 1950s and beyond predicted tremendous booms, fueled by bountiful exports of natural products.

But natural wealth is no panacea. Rarely are undeveloped countries able to diversify into modern industries that can compete in the global marketplace. From 1960 to 1985, roughly the era when inward orientation was dominant, less than a third of developing countries exports were manufactured products.[11] As one economist has noted "[developing economies] export primary commodities, and most export little else."[12]

Mormons faced similar problems. Just as the Third World has struggled to get a foothold in economies of the advanced Northern Hemisphere, so, too, did the church struggle to compete with the industrialized American east. Yet lacking the full development of its natural resources, the Mormon pioneer economy could hardly have been expected to out produce the well-established and heavily capitalized eastern United States.

Yet from the earliest years of settlement, direct competition with eastern industry was precisely what the LDS church attempted. Its leaders placed their considerable spiritual and pecuniary clout behind an aggressive industrialization effort centered on domestic production for domestic consumption. They wanted what they called their "yeoman's paradise" to be completely separate from the outside world. As Brigham Young explained: "We do not intend to have any trade or commerce with the gentile [non-Mormon] world.... The kingdom of God cannot rise... until we produce, manufacture, and make every article of use, convenience or necessity among our own people."[13]

[11] Lynn, *Economic Development*, 330.

[12] Angus Deaton, "Commodity Prices and Growth in Africa," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives,* 13 (Summer 1999): 23.

[13] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 47.

Why did Brigham Young pursue this seeming quixotic goal? One reason seems to have been the desire for respect from the world at large. Prosperity was valued because it was a sign of God's favor. To an unusual degree, pioneer Mormons imbued financial success with spiritual import, thinking that economic growth would prove their special status as a chosen people. By building sophisticated and beautiful cities to impress outsiders, Mormons hoped to prove to the world that God was with them.[14]

Just as Mormons viewed economic prosperity as a confirmation of their theology, so, too, have developing governments used development to bolster fledgling national spirit. Inward-turning economic programs were very good at reinforcing nationalism, especially the aggressively self-assertive forms common in the Third-World countries during their independence struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. These emerging countries wanted to demonstrate that their populaces were equally capable as the more economically advanced countries. Industrial growth also was seen as a way to demonstrate their cultural superiority (or at least cultural adequacy). Especially desirable were large, easily identifiable indicators of wealth—factories, buildings, and technology. In both the Mormon and modern experience, then, a desire for outside recognition was a major motivation for autonomy campaigns.

Another motive for economic autonomy was Young's belief that trade intercourse with outside economies was inherently disruptive. He was convinced that more often than not, commerce involved idle men using their superior wealth or knowledge to extract unfair or predatory fees from the honest farmer or town worker. High prices were thought to be the result of anti-Mormon bias and simple greed. Brigham Young launched scathing sermons against perceived abuses. In an 1866 letter he wrote: "[merchants] are here to pick the pockets of the Latter-Day saints and then… bring about our destruction."[15]

Developing countries have been similarly hostile towards international trade and extractive industry. Economists and others favoring inward-turning strategies, especially Raul Prebisch and associated Latin American scholars, have long argued that the terms of trade between the extractive economies of the Third World and the sophisticated, manufacturing-based economies of the First World were inherently biased against the former. As Prebisch put it, "the global division of labor dooms countries to perpetual poverty."[16] Like the Mormons, these theorists and economists thought that it was impossible to build a stable economy on the extraction of raw materials.

Transnational corporations may have replaced non-Mormon traders as the targets of criticism, but the essence of complaints has remained

[14] Thompson, "Mormon Economics," 83.

[15] Brigham Young to a group of sixteen non-Mormon merchants, Journal History of the LDS Church, December 21, 1866, quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*,.295.

[16] Raul Prebisch, "International Trade and Payments in an Era of Coexistence," in Papers and Proceedings of the Seventy-first Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. *The American Economic Review* 49 (May 1959).

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This group of pioneer women engaged in making silk from silkworm cocoons.

unchanged. Brigham Young and modern activists both accuse big businesses of using their power to fix prices, dominate weak local governments, and engage in unfair business practices. One of today's most prominent critics of transnational corporations, economist Lori Wallach, echoes Mormon sentiments when she writes: "corporate-led globalization…chills government actions to fight sweatshops… protect endangered species…and even limits our elected governments' ability to maintain policies on everything from meat inspection to media concentration."[17] To both Mormons and twentieth-century isolationists, unfettered trade granted too much influence to powerful mercantile interests.

Another motive for economic independence arose from the Mormon's unique apocalyptic beliefs. LDS doctrine in the 1840s held that the coming of the Messiah was close at hand, and soon the outside world—"Babylon"— would be wracked by disruption and strife. It was imperative that members of the LDS church be able to fulfill their needs without depending on soon-to-be destroyed outside sources.[18]

Fears of a supernatural apocalypse have a secular counterpart in fears of catastrophic financial panics and depressions. In the 1930s, 1940s, and

[17] Lori Wallach, *WTO: Five Years of Reasons to Resist Corporate Globalization* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000).

[18] Thompson, "Mormon Economics," 80-82.

1950s, the period when many autonomy programs were initiated, there was widespread belief that severe economic depressions would likely continue and were even inevitable. Many thought that capitalism was inherently unstable, unavoidably subject to periodic collapse. If the disruptions of 1929 were going to reoccur, governments thought it wise to be self-sufficient.[19]

Even if the apocalypse were not yet at hand, local production would protect Utah from instability from the outside marketplace. In this case, leaders took their lessons from the grim example set by Utah's neighbors. In vast areas of Arizona, Colorado, and Montana an over-dependence on trade had crippled economies. During the pioneer era, far-off factors like the price of wheat in London or the production of copper in Chile could bankrupt a western town.[20] The situation is no different in the twentieth century; a reliance on commodity trade is still inherently unstable. Countries still thrive or fail based upon the price of their exportable products.[21] Such dependence was unacceptable to Mormon leaders.

Dramatic fears of financial disruption, fraud, and pending apocalypse were the public justifications for economic autonomy. However, it is likely that both the church's leadership and developing countries' elites were driven by other, less sensational motives. Often, it was the autonomy campaign's ability to increase local control that Mormon leaders found attractive. By bringing production within the sphere of local government, a shift to domestic industry increased the LDS authority's options and powers. Especially in the first decade of settlement, the church had tremendous latitude in distributing and occasionally confiscating private property. Furthermore, many church members willingly contributed huge shares of their personal goods and services to the church's cause. Every substance produced locally, therefore, was useful for the church.

Church leaders also enjoyed the political independence that accompanied economic autonomy. Brigham Young, in particular, disliked trade with outsiders because it tied the hands of the church and its members when dealing with gentile merchants and corporations. Brigham Young explained: "so long as we buy of them [gentiles] we are in a degree dependent on them."[22] Young and the church feared that non-Mormon merchants would use their monopoly on necessary goods to raise prices and force political concessions—in essence; they feared that the outside merchants would enact economic blackmail.

Similar arguments are made today. As economist Sebastian Edwards has

[19] Henry J. Bruton, "A Reconsideration of Import Substitution," *Journal of Economic Literature* 36 (June 1998): 904.

[20] For an excellent discussion of the difficulties imposed on western communities by international trade and finance, see William C. Robbins, *Colony & Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 83-102.

[21] Stephen R. Lewis "Primary Exporting Countries" International Monetary Fund Staff Papers 34 no. 2 (1987): 1551-52.

[22] Quoted in Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 47.

noted: "international trade is not a popular engine of growth... it is set by forces that are not within the control of the indigenous authorities, nor indeed of any authority, indigenous or foreign."[23] Trade entails dependence. Being able to produce goods for oneself helps prevent the erosion of local sovereignty.

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The Ephraim United Order Mercantile Institution Building, constructed of local limestone in 1872, was a center of economic and social activity in Sanpete Valley.

The church viewed growth of domestic industry as a means to provide employment to the faithful. Unlike most other frontier communities, Utah became overcrowded early in its development due to the limited amount of land that was actually productive and habitable, as well as the Mormon success at proselytizing and gathering converts to Utah.[24] The Utah economy constantly struggled to employ its populace. Young established public work projects to employ the flood of Mormon emigrants to Zion. In underdeveloped countries, too, overcrowding and unemployment were perennial problems and the creation of jobs was an obvious need. Both import-substitution theorists and Mormon leaders thought that industrial production for the home market was the best way to reduce unemployment.[25]

An important point to keep in mind is that at its root, the desire of the church's leaders for autarky was a secular sort of isolation, altogether different from the isolation of contemporaneous sects like the Society of Friends or the Oneidians. The church's goal was not to reject the world, but to recreate it. Mormons were not Luddites, Puritans or monks. They desired wealth, but wealth on their own terms. They were to be possessors of their own resources. Jobs were to be jobs of quality and skill that enriched the dignity of the worker. Ultimately, Deseret was to be isolated, yet a sophisticated,

[23] Sebastian Edwards, "Openness, Productivity, and Growth: What Do We Really Know?" *The Economic Journal* 108 (March 1998): 236.

[24] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 383.

[25] Raul Prebisch, "Commercial Policy in The Underdeveloped Countries," *The American Economic* Review 49 (1959) 252-54.

urbane, and productive society. Such goals would have been familiar to the government leaders and state economists mirroring Mormon policy a half-century later.

In general, the first task of inward-turning policies is to create new industries that can replace needed goods. This is often a difficult task; undeveloped economies must overcome many structural difficulties to begin to produce needed goods. Underdeveloped countries lack basic institutions and social norms that the developed world takes for granted—a reliable financial system, efficient markets, and effective and uncorrupted governments. Third-World workers lack tools and training, and Third-World entrepreneurs lack capital and technology. Furthermore, strong direction must be given to make sure desired industries emerge. And, external resources must be obtained and distributed to those who can best use them.

The creation of needed goods was certainly a concern for the church and Brigham Young. The first settlers faced shortages of all basic needs, from food to clothes to housing. Commodity production programs were needed to enable the Mormons to produce more and better goods. Many of the church's earliest economic programs were attempts to make necessities from unusual sources. During the gold rush of 1849, for example, farm tools were made from melted-down wagon axles purchased from miners who were on their way to California.[26]

But even if programs can expand the range of domestic goods, there is still the problem of outside competition. Generally, foreign imported products tend to be of higher quality and at a lower cost than a region's domestically produced goods. (If this was not so, government programs would be unnecessary—market forces alone would be expected to create import-replacing industry.) To enable domestic replacement industries to compete, consumers must be persuaded to purchase the inferior neighborhood goods through financial incentives. Normally, such incentives either make domestic goods cheaper or outside goods more expensive.

The Mormon kingdom in Utah, however, was generally unsuccessful in halting the importation of outside goods. Since the church was not a formal government, it could not levy defensive fees like excise taxes or tariffs, nor could it negotiate trade agreements with outside entities. Instead, the church had to rely on its social influence and economic programs to create conditions favorable to domestic industry. Protectionist policies in pioneer Utah, therefore, involved much different policies than the high tariffs and nationalized industries of later inward-turning efforts in South America and Africa.[27] But even though policies differed, the desired results were the same.

[26] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 110-111.

[27] The examples of import-substitution programs in the twentieth century have been in Latin America; See: Kathryn Sikkink, "The Influence of Raul Prebisch on Economic Policy-Making in Argentina, 1950-1962," *Latin American Research Review* 23 (1988): 91-114.

Additionally, Utah was so isolated that the high costs of shipping formed a de facto protective tariff, so protection from outside goods was less of a priority. The mid-nineteenth-century Mormon situation was analogous to that of the Third World in mid-twentieth century, when the northern hemisphere countries were occupied by war thereby permitting the Third World to develop without competition.

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The ZCMI factory shirt and overall department in Salt Lake City c. 1889.

But in neither case did isolation persist. For the under-developed world, the end of World War II led to a flood of foreign products from the rebuilding northern countries. For the LDS communities in Utah, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and the emergences of a truly national American economy, eastern manufactures and mid-western agriculture threatened Mormon industry and agriculture. Therefore, even when the LDS program led to the successful production of goods, the Mormon economy still struggled to become truly independent.

As a result of their uncompetitive economy, the Mormon community ran a chronic trade deficit. And this continual trade deficit led to, with the exception of a few years during the California gold rush, a critical shortage of hard currency. The settlers imported more than they exported. To pay for these outside goods, currency drained from the Mormon economy at an alarming rate. By 1853 hard specie–gold dust, foreign coins, and other trustworthy methods of payment–was almost completely unavailable in Utah. This greatly hindered the overall functioning of the economy.

A lack of specie is not an uncommon problem. Any newly settled region which imports more than it exports will face balance of payment difficulties. In the absence of borrowing from abroad or government intervention, such regions' or countries' currency will become less valuable, making importation of goods more difficult.[28] Commonly, developing countries have bought foreign goods without sufficiently exporting products in return, leading to currency crises. Citizens often have to resort to using

[28] Alan M. Taylor, "On the Cost of Inward-Looking Development: Price Distortions, Growth and Divergence in Latin America," *The Journal of Economic History* 58 (March 1998): 1-28.

either foreign currencies, or "hard" assets of precious metal or real estate.

This was precisely the situation in early Utah. Demands for outside manufactured goods increased as the number of settlers increased and more of them wanted manufactured goods. Church-backed paper money soon became worthless, and church-minted coins flowed east paying for purchased eastern goods and freight costs. Thus, between 1849 and 1852 alone, nearly five-hundred thousand dollars left the territory.[29]

This loss of currency was especially troublesome because the church's funds for industrial investment came primarily from tithing contributions paid with agricultural commodities or labor from individual members. Church members were expected to pay 10 percent of their yearly income to the church. In one major Utah settlement between 1863 and 1870, cash tithing made up less than 1 percent of the total $ 428,732 contributed.[30] This critically limited the amount of real money the church could spend on its development efforts.

Campaigns for self-sufficiency are tremendously hindered by such cash shortages. Fledgling economies require equipment and resources available only from the outside world. If an economy is running a negative balance of payments, such purchases become nearly impossible. A lack of cash or a devalued currency (two forms of the same problem) also makes it difficult for individuals to buy the goods they want and need, greatly lowering the overall standard of living.[31]

In the case of pioneer Utah, Mormon settlers suffered extreme privations as a result of their inability to purchase eastern goods. One gets a sense of their suffering from stories about the sorts of substitute goods they were forced to use. Boiled parsnips replaced sugar; dried and pulped rags replaced paper; rough, scratchy homespun woolen cloth replaced cotton cloth. Citizens of the Third World face similar difficulties when they cannot afford to import needed necessities.

In Utah, the simplest way to correct the trade imbalance would have been to develop mining. Utah could have become an extractive, export-oriented economy, trading metal for food and goods. Export of raw materials led to explosive growth in many other areas of the west later in the century. Many Third World countries also experienced booms as a result of commodity exports.

With a few exceptions, the church strongly discouraged any involvement in the mining of gold and silver. Brigham Young warned: "Those who stop here and are faithful to God will make more money and get richer than you who run after the gold of the world. . . ."[32] He and other church lead-

[29] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* 84.

[30] From *Life of A Pioneer, being the Autobiography of James S. Brown*, quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, "Religion and Planning in the Far West: The First Generation of Mormons in Utah," *The Economic History Review*, Second Series 11 (1958): 78.

[31] Taylor, "On the Costs of Inward-Looking Development," 6-11.

[32] Arrington, "Religion and Planning," 77.

ers preached that mining was an unacceptable, dead-end industry.[33] The church did promote mining for coal, lead and iron, but only for home use. The iron and lead mines in southern Utah were a means towards self-sufficiency, rather than a path towards easy, export-led wealth.

Commercial mining began with the discovery of argentiferous ore croppings in the Oquirrh Mountains west of Salt Lake City by soldiers stationed in the valley to safeguard the overland route during the Civil War. Extraction of precious metals in Utah was a wholly gentile affair until the 1880s.[34]

At first glance, the Mormons' dogmatic rejection of mining appears to have been a mistake. Non-Mormon miners prospered in the 1880s with many fortunes being made in the mountains of Utah.[35] In fact, hard-rock mining proved so successful that the church eventually dropped its opposition and by the twentieth century a number of Mormons were among the most aggressive developers of local mining. Why, then, was the church initially so hostile, and how could it justify its decision to neglect such an easy and accessible source of wealth?

Partly, the Mormon's hostility stemmed from the experiences of their neighbors. Western communities in the nineteenth century were plagued by various problems stemming from their reliance on extractive, export-oriented trade. These same problems of inequality between the back breaking work of workers and the relative leisure of men of means plague developing countries today. Such inequality is potentially disruptive in any society, but it would have been especially so in the relatively homogeneous and equitable Mormon society.

As mining of various minerals matured in the west during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, powerful new financial outsiders from the eastern United States and Great Britain became involved, investing heavily in the extractive industry. Eastern companies such as Phelps-Dodge and Anaconda soon controlled vast regions of Arizona, Montana, and Colorado just as the Mormon church dominated Utah during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.[36] Indeed, gentiles living in Salt Lake City explicitly hoped that mining would attract enough outsiders to dislodge the church's stranglehold on power.

Similar fears have motivated twentieth-century autonomy campaigns. Critics of isolationist policies fail to understand the deep preference many societies have for local ownership and control. Most people are willing to trade some degree of prosperity for a stronger community. This sentiment is especially strong in regions that have had a history of being exploited by foreign powers. Third-World countries after decades of colonial rule are

[33] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 76.

[34] White, "The Insular Integrity of Industry," 208-209.

[35] Charles L. Keller, *The Lady in the Ore Bucket: A History of Settlement and Industry in the Tri-Canyon Area of the Wasatch Mountains,* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001).

[36] Robbins, *Colony & Empire*, 83-102.

reluctant to open their resources to development by the corporations of their former occupiers.[37]

One might wonder if the Utah Territory could have solved its balance-of-payments problem by developing some sort of export industry other than mining. Besides mineral wealth, however, Utah had few resources to offer the outside world. Furthermore, the rare few export industries which might have succeeded were largely neglected by church leaders. Cattle or sheep might have been profitably sold to eastern markets, but ranching was not developed on a large scale by the church until the 1870s.[38] Due to its location along the California trail, Utah could have become a service economy, specializing in providing support to travelers. Yet although some Mormons took advantage of this position by operating ferries, toll roads, general stores, and hotels, the church itself never systematically developed service industries.[39] In contrast with the support given industrialists, Mormon leaders ignored those who provided services to travelers. The courtesy industry was largely on its own. We must keep in mind the goals of Brigham Young and other church leaders. They wanted an insular and homogeneous community. An excessive amount of foreign visitation might have led to an expanding gentile population that would disrupt their control. By discouraging suitable accommodations to visitors, the church dissuaded many visitors from returning and settling in the territory. Visitors to Salt Lake City found it polite but not welcoming; precisely the tone to discourage long-term settlement.

The exchange of goods and services by Utah through the pioneer period was minimal. By 1890, the end of the pioneer era, exports accounted for only 14 percent of Utah's total production, a figure much lower than comparable areas of the west.[40] Rather than promoting exports, the church focused on reducing imports. The church was not unique. In general, governments have preferred to deal with trade imbalances by attacking importation. Compared with the complexity of increasing exports, reducing importation seems easy: simply buy fewer foreign goods. Furthermore, since many imports are consumer products like special foodstuffs or fine clothes, it is easy for governments to characterize imports as wasteful "luxuries," adding a moral component to economic policy.

This was precisely the strategy employed in Utah. Church leaders condemned a perceived interest in eastern-made items like jewelry, furniture, and fashionable clothing. Brigham Young scolded the saints: "Permit no vitiated taste to lead you to the indulgence of expensive luxuries, which

[37] For a good summary of fears of imperialism, see Keith Griffin and John Gurley, "Radical Analyses of Imperialism, the Third World, and the Transition to Socialism: A Survey Article," *Journal of Economic Literature* 23 (Septembert 1985): 1089-1143.

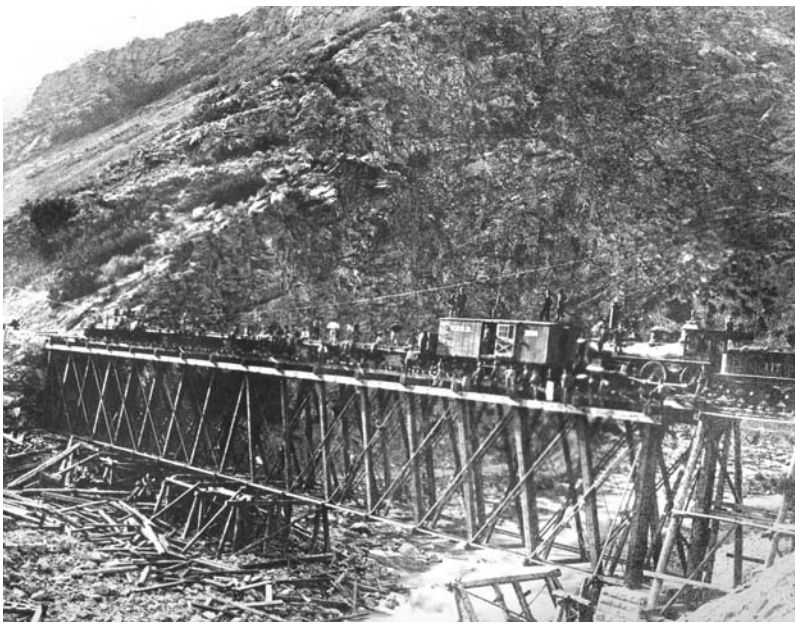
[38] Leonard J Arrington, "A Dependent Commonwealth : Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression" (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 40.

[39] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 80.

[40] Arrington, "A Dependent Commonwealth," 17.

can only be obtained by involving yourself in debt."[41] "By purchasing fewer unnecessary consumptive goods, Mormons would not only decrease imports, but also free up resources for investment. Leaders urged their flock to buy farm tools before fripperies.

As the church urged a boycott of outside goods, they also urged the consumption of home manufactures. Brigham, through sermons and other means, urged the saints to purchase home made items. "I have no hesitation in saying that our true interest is… in domestic manufacturing… Produce what you consume."[42] Leaders exhorted Mormons to patronize their brethren's businesses even if their prices were high and craftsmanship poor.



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Completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 had a significant impact on Utah's pioneer economy. This 1869 photograph shows the construction of the Devil's Gate Bridge in Weber Canyon.

The "do-without" policies reached their peak in the 1860s. In response to the soon-to-be completed transcontinental railroad and the flood of cheap, deficit-swelling imports it was feared to bring, the church banned the consumption of coffee, tea, and alcohol. This was an escalation of previous doctrines; such substances had been frowned upon but tolerated since the 1830s. The new policy was much less flexible, and it became taboo to consume even in moderation. The campaign was so successful as to almost completely wipe out consumption of such "vice goods." (Indeed, an aversion to coffee, tobacco, and alcohol has persisted to the present day as a distinct and famous facet of Mormon culture.)[43] Economic isolationists have made similar efforts to discourage "unnecessary" imports in order to lessen economic dependence.[44]

Nonetheless, in early Utah some level of importation was still necessary

[41] Journal History of the Church, January 5, 1852, quoted in Arrington, "*Great Basin Kingdom,*" 113.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., 250

[44] Indeed, some of the most famous crises in economic history have involved boycotts: the Boston Tea Party; the Opium Wars; and Gandhi's march to the sea for salt, to name a few well known examples. The Mormon's campaign differs only in that it was so effective—few governments have suppressed consumption to the degree the Mormons did.

when importation of these goods was unavoidable, still the church tried to limit and control trade. Initially, the church utilized informal methods. Leaders asked Mormon merchants to lower their prices, in essence setting price controls through social pressure. Price gouging was the subject of frequent sermons, and merchants who set prices "too high" were privately rebuked.

Despite these efforts, perceived abuses from trading companies continued to mount and church leaders felt they must intervene more directly. The decision was made to involve the church itself in the import business. In 1864, the church created the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, an organization intended to be "one general, wholesale, cooperative store that would supply... all the goods necessary for the peoples' consumption…to finally 'freeze out' the gentiles."[45] The idea was that by buying and importing in bulk, ZCMI could leverage its purchasing power and keep prices low. By 1870, nearly every Mormon community had some outpost of the cooperative store, nearly two hundred overall.[46] Prices were set in Salt Lake City, to be "reasonable… satisfying … both the merchants and the whole people."[47]

The record of these attempts to control importation was mixed. On the one hand, price manipulations caused severe distortions in the Mormon economy. Demand exceeded supply; at reduced prices, Mormon retailers were unable to adequately provide their community with goods. There were instances where prices were set so low that shipments of goods sold out within hours of their arrival. More than once, a tempered sermon was given to smooth angry feelings related to hoarding or price gouging. [48]

However, the effects of the Mormon program were not wholly negative. ZCMI, in particular, was successful in re-establishing a competitive retail market. In the period before the establishment of ZCMI, gentile merchants dominated retailing in Utah.[49] In fact, a mere four retail concerns handled nearly all trade. Their rates of profit were unusually high, suggesting that they had begun to abuse their monopolistic position.[50]

The church's cooperatives drove out nearly all these gentile merchants, and while this dominance did not last, trade in Utah was never again so

[45] T.B. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain saints : a full and complete history of the Mormons* (London : Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1874), 626.

[46] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 249, 293-322.

[47] Arden Beal Olsen, "History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation," *Journal of Marketing 6* (1941): 136-42.

[48] Washington Consensus economists would have predicted this course. Limitations on merchants are among the most common and least successful of government manipulations. Throughout the twentieth century, inward turning countries have manipulated the market mechanism. Price ceilings have driven producers from the market; price subsides have encouraged overconsumption. Time and time again, such efforts have led to underproduction and over consumption. Although specific, a nice summary of some problems of price manipulations can be found in Tony Gillick, "Price Controls in Africa: The Ghana Experience," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 11 (September 1973): 405-26.

[49] Eileen V. Wallis, "The Women's Cooperative Movement in Utah 1869-1915," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 71 (Fall 2003): 315-31.

[50] Kearl "Household Wealth in a Settlement Economy,"487.

monopolized by a few large concerns.[51] According to anecdotal evidence and the opinions of contemporary observers, the cooperative stores kept prices low and prevented competing merchants from taking advantage of shortages to raise prices. Historian Gardner Hamil-ton argues that even though the cooperatives' prices were not significantly lower than those of the secular merchants, the presence of Mormon-friendly competition kept the gentiles from raising their prices.[52] The cooperatives, then, are an example of how a seemingly "anti-market," inefficient, policy can actually help ensure a working market mechanism by moderating commercial power and preventing monopoly.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The success of the Park City Mining District contributed to the expansion of mining throughout Utah and its importance to the state's economy.

The most fundamental aspect of inward-turning campaigns is the development of domestic industry. All other efforts will be for naught if a local economy fails to actually produce goods for the local populace. For the church to achieve its goal of an independent "yeoman's paradise," it would have to increase the variety, quality, and volume of goods then available.

The church promoted home industry in a variety of ways. Craftsmen were given tools and machinery, farmers were provided seed and livestock, and businessmen were given loans and financial assistance. Farmers were educated through such measures as agricultural extension programs and craftsmen participated in trade fairs. These efforts were not unique to Utah. Both inward-turning and export-oriented strategies have relied heavily on such cooperation between governments and individuals. Even the most strident proponents of laissez-faire economics admit that government supported economic assistance, if well run, is a valuable way to promote local economic development.

[51] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 306-307.
[52] Gardner Hamilton, "Cooperation Among The Mormons," 488.

The church's direct role in supporting home industry is directly analogous to the actions of many inward-turning countries today, from Indian attempts to create a steel industry to Brazilian attempts to build an automobile industry. In these two examples, planners were especially interested in creating "heavy" industry, characterized by large-scale facilities, which requires a large amount of initial capital. There was also a bias towards large, flashy, "modern" industries, chosen for their cachet and visibility. In Utah its leaders were especially interested in industries such as sugar production, wool manufacturing and iron smelting.[53]

In choosing which industries to pursue, inward-turning planners have often neglected economic rationality. They have tended to assume that nearly any industry can succeed, regardless of the resources present in the economy. They have ignored the limitations of location and situation—as economist Henry Bruton put it, there is "no effort to allocate resources optimally"[54] Government officials often fail to consider such critical factors as comparative advantage, external financial conditions, and the particular strengths or weaknesses of a given economy.

These same criticisms applied to the economic program of the LDS church in Utah in the nineteenth century. The theological system and self-sufficiency mattered more when it came to establishing viable industries. Mormonism was perennially optimistic in outlook; God would grant His blessings to any effort if it was pursued with enough piety and vigor. Church leadership, therefore, was willing to pursue wildly improbable industries.

Many of the church's initiated industries failed or were not as successful as hoped.[55] The results of the Mormons' industrial experiments confirm the pessimistic predictions of Washington Consensus economists, who claim that state-run industries are often ill-conceived and poorly run. Many Mormon industries were inappropriate to the climate, resources, and knowledge then present in Utah. The result of this inorganic, top-down process of decision making was thousands of dollars worth of wasted investment, with no long-term growth.

In general, the problem with the early Mormon industrial experiments was their inappropriate goals. In planning industries, leaders asked "What do we need?" rather than "What can we do?" This led to less than optimal results. The pursuit of inappropriate industry is perhaps an inevitable problem of state planning; it is very difficult to forecast what will be successful. Hence, state-owned enterprises tend towards inefficiency, and struggle to compete with private producers.

Yet it would be wrong to view the church-sponsored projects as

[53] Arrington, "Religion and Planning in the Far West," 75.

[54] Bruton, "Import Substitution Reconsidered," 906.

[55] For a brief discussion of some of the major industries initiated by the LDS church in Utah see Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 12-132.

complete failures. The attempted sugar beet industry and paper mills lost money, but they introduced a spirit of innovation that led to later successes. At the turn of the twentieth century private investors succeeded in canning, candy making, leatherworking, toy manufacturing and with the church adopting the market economy earlier sugar and wool industries succeeded.[56] The success of these new commercial enterprises was built on the knowledge gleaned from previous experiments. These and other industrial projects rallied the Mormons to a common cause. In countless family stories, pioneer diaries, and public proclamations, the settlers revealed a deep sense of pride they had for their fledging operations. These "failed" industrial efforts planted the seeds of experimentation and fostered an industrial spirit.

The church guided industry in another way that was arguably more beneficial. As the first government of the region, the LDS church took charge in the distribution of natural resources and public goods. The church allocated land, road-building rights, water, and timber. In allocating these resources, the church focused on equality, to a degree uncommon to modern governments. When the Mormons organized their towns, they distributed land according to need. Most importantly the use of water was carefully distributed to those who would use the water beneficially.

Commonly, governments trying to promote industrialization have taken an opposite approach. Planners allocate resources to entities thought likely to succeed. Frequently resources are granted to the already prosperous: the fecund farmer, the dominant local firm, the flashy foreign manufacturer. Such an approach especially characterized some of the export-oriented "Asian Tigers" of Korea, Taiwan, and others. The desire to funnel resources to proven producers is understandable, but results in resources being given to those who seem to need them least. This "favoring the favored" further increases hostility towards trade from the less successful. In the words of one economist, some governments "confuse support for industrialists with support for industrialization."[57] Export promotion, if pursued in such a way, may be perceived as only enriching the already well off at the expense of the general populace.

LDS church leaders, on the other hand, earned the allegiance of the rank-and-file through their focus on equity over efficiency. Other ways of distribution of resources and goods might have been more economically profitable, but would have resulted in perceived injustices that would have hamstrung support of the church. The LDS church's focus on equality appealed to lower-class settlers. It likely made the rank-and-file populace more willing to participate in its economic program.

Equitable resource distribution also reduced idleness. Many settlers were

[56] For fuller discussion of Utah's industrialization after statehood, see Arrington, "A Dependent Commonwealth."

[57] Taylor, "On the Cost, of Inward-Looking Development," 17.

poor European and Scandinavian emigrants who lacked their own land and tools. Such settlers would not have been able to employ themselves without church aid. By supporting even marginal workers, the church minimized unemployment. Reports from travelers emphasize the industriousness of Mormon cities and the conspicuous lack of the jobless. The comments of Jules Remy, a Frenchman passing through Salt Lake City in 1856 are typical: "Everyone from the lowest of the faithful up to the bishop or even the apostle is occupied with manual labor."[58] By distributing land and other resources to even marginal producers, the church reaped undeniable social benefits.

Similar thinking motivates developing countries when they maintain inefficient state-owned industries. Many state businesses lose money and require heavy subsidies; but they also provide employment to many who would have no place in the private sector. The benefits of keeping unemployment low may be worth the costs of inefficiency.

The Mormon economic program was a two edged sword. Policies imposed on the Deseret economy by LDS leaders had tremendous financial costs, but yielded great social and other benefits. As modern economists would have predicted, much of the centralized planning led to inefficiencies. In their decisions about where to settle and what to build, LDS leaders were overly optimistic. They invested heavily in unproven schemes, going to extreme lengths to create goods when it would have been far easier to pursue importation. Without a market mechanism to punish poor decisions, mistakes were allowed to persist far longer than in the public market economy. Marginal settlements, failed factories, and short-lived boycotts consumed valuable resources, which could have been spent more directly on much needed imports. Had the church not focused on autonomy, Mormons likely could have accumulated greater material wealth, at least in the short term.

What is more, the autonomy campaign seems to have had few permanent economic effects. In the 1890s, the church shifted away from autarky with surprising speed and ease. The church privatized its holdings, embraced mining, and accepted outside investment. Where communal efforts had failed, private capital succeeded in developing viable industries, creating thriving factories. By 1900 Utah was just as developed as its neighbors. Income per worker was similar to that of the rest of the mountain west. (The state's per capita GDP was lower, but that was due to high numbers of non-working women and children.)[59] Manufacturing was slightly more developed than in other western states, but still relatively unimportant compared with mining and agriculture.

Did the Mormon's economic program, then, merely delay the inevitable?

[58] Quoted in Martin Mitchell, "Gentile Impressions of Salt Lake City," *Geographical Review* 87 (July 1997): 343.

[59] Taylor, "On the Cost, of Inward-Looking Development," 17.

Utah eventually followed its neighbors and became an extractive, export-oriented economy. The region's expansion was due to outward-focused industries: mining, ranching, and federal spending. Had the state maintained its inward-looking stance, it is doubtful it would have continued to grow—by the end of the autarkic era, the lack of arable land and unemployment had become critical problems.

This does not mean that the pursuit of autonomy was without any effects—on the contrary, the economic program had a long-lasting and beneficial legacy. Utah had few collapsed mining towns or abandoned settlements founded by Mormons. Eastern investors did not dominate the financial resources of the area, nor did outsiders own vast amounts of property. By and large, Utah was still culturally homogeneous, religiously and socially cohesive. Crime rates were lower than in nearby states, and social equity was greater. The inward-looking period, in short, seemed to have preserved Mormon culture and a well-ordered, stable society.

This is the key appeal of protectionist policies. Inward-turning actions minimize disruption and change, enabling a society to maintain order during times of economic vulnerability. It is true that the lack of dynamism and competitiveness inherent to protectionism hinders economic growth. But many societies fear that they are not robust enough to cope with the rigors inherent to an open economy. Interaction with foreign economies can lead to excessive change, and this has real social costs— displaced farmers, jobless urban workers, profitless manufacturers, and the like. Successful export-oriented countries, like Taiwan and Korea, already have a strong sense of culture and well-developed traditions which enable them to meet these challenges. Many Third World countries, like the Mormon society, are much younger and more malleable, and therefore less stable.

Inward looking policies insulate. When this insulation is removed too soon, the result can be social unrest and economic regression. Open trade and free-market competition may lead to greater economic productivity in the long run, but only if a society is stable enough to accommodate a period of disruption. That is why many still support an inward-orientation, despite its dismal growth record; and that is why moderation is called for in the adoption of free-trade and export-oriented policies.

If Deseret had been developed with a greater degree of openness, it is likely Utah would not have remained a predominately Mormon state. Non-Mormons would have been drawn into the area; Mormons would have been lured out. Fewer convert immigrants could have been accommodated. Private firms, with goals contrary to the aims of the church, would have moved in. Local producers would have struggled. Inevitably, conflict would have resulted.

The inward-looking policies gave Mormon society several decades to become firmly entrenched, so that even when the church gave up their dreams of independence, Utah remained predominately Mormon. Striving for autarky was inefficient, but it was not crippling. Utah still grew at a rea-

sonable rate, without depending on the sometimes hostile outside world. Through their program, Mormons maintained employment and minimized competition, enhanced social equity and fostered community participation. They kept outsiders at bay. Furthermore, it provided Mormons a great goal, a cause to unite the populace and focus their attention. The autonomy programs enhanced civic pride and faith in the church. In light of all these benefits, the popularity of an inward-turning stance is easier to understand. Perhaps LDS leaders should be thought of as poor economists, but brilliant sociologists.

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BOOK REVIEWS

David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism. By Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005, xx + 490 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

THIS HIGHLY ANTICIPATED BOOK is a landmark in the "New Mormon History." Why? Because it is a professional account of a Mormon icon, President David O. McKay, and because the authors have made effective use of available original sources listed in the appendix of the book. These sources include McKay's diaries (40,000 pages), discourses (10,000 pages) and scrapbooks (80,000 pages). Such papers are not normally available about Mormon General Authorities but the authors had access to them through family ties to Clare Middlemiss, the president's secretary. The book also uses documentation from standard public sources such as newspapers.

Prince and Wright make the most of these documents, housed at the University of Utah Western Americana collection, and have produced a book that is issues-oriented instead of one that is a narrative of the church president's life. It is neither an inspirational nor a negative biography, but it is one that focuses on controversies in LDS church administration. It is not a book for the faint of heart.

The authors begin and end with the inspirational dimensions of President McKay's life and capture them in a convincing manner. There is a respectful account of McKay's solid parentage and upbringing in Huntsville, Utah, and his education culminating at the University of Utah where he was an athlete and a scholar. His LDS mission to Scotland pressed the future prophet to discover his own inner convictions, and they did not come lightly. Upon his return to Utah, he married Emma Ray Riggs, who was his inspiring soul mate for sixty-nine years and the mother of their seven children. His career in education, as a teacher and principal at Weber Academy in Ogden, is described as a foundation for his love of literature and respect for reason. Then came his call to the apostleship in 1906 at the age of thirty-three, into a leadership position where he had no blood relationship to any other LDS leaders that many of his colleagues enjoyed. This calling occupied his next sixty-three years and led him to a stature respected by millions both inside and outside the LDS church.

The main thrust of the book is to explore the stresses in each of several themes, for example, the issue of U. S. civil rights. Tremendous pressure came from many directions to terminate church policy of withholding the priesthood from blacks. There was also intense internal resistance to changing that practice. Increasingly, McKay wanted a change but was determined not to act on personal desire or political pressure. It had to be a revelation from God, he said. Despite sequestering himself in the temple on many occasions and praying mightily, he received no such revelation. Hence, he did not take action to change the policy but by loosening requirements on some ordinations; particularly in Polynesia and South

Africa, he did lay groundwork for the change that came when Spencer W. Kimball became president.

The authors have a proclivity for controversy and write the book similar to one expected of a U. S. president's biography. If readers keep that in mind, they will be comfortable with the many policy disputes that are the bulk of the book. For example, the chapter on communism suggests that many people were frustrated over the issue, both pro and con. The authors explain that McKay was strongly anti-communist. When Apostle Ezra Taft Benson took up that crusade, McKay was delighted. He pledged to support Benson in a fight that was dear to McKay.

Once the matter became intertwined with the John Birch Society, McKay found himself in a conundrum. Elder Benson wanted the church to ally with the John Birch Society; other leaders in the hierarchy were strongly opposed. Access to the president on this issue became a tactical matter as Clare Middlemiss clearly favored Benson. After years of frustration, President McKay finally refused to allow the Birch magazine, *American Opinion*, to print his picture on its cover. Through it all, the president did not want to withdraw support from Apostle Benson but also did not want to link the church with the Birch Society.

Another issue surrounded Ernest L. Wilkinson. He was not McKay's favorite candidate to become president of Brigham Young University, but once Wilkinson took office, McKay supported him 100 percent, first in expanding the BYU campus and then Wilkinson's attempt to establish a system of church junior colleges. Wilkinson's plan was to move Ricks College from Rexburg to Idaho Falls, Idaho, and promote the transfer of Dixie, Weber, and Snow colleges back to the church from the state as proposed by Governor J. Bracken Lee. The authors deftly describe the nuances, iterations and differing views among McKay's advisors and the ability of the very bright Wilkinson to skirt them. Ultimately, Wilkinson overplayed his hand and was released from the position of Church Commissioner of Education, ending his proposed church junior college network.

A more delicate issue for McKay was the matter of *Mormon Doctrine* and its author, Bruce R. McConkie. The first edition appeared without authorization of the general authorities and in the opinion of many of them, had doctrinal errors. McKay supported withdrawing the book, but McConkie eventually worked around him to issue a revised edition.

The chapter on missionary work reflects President McKay's major motive to expand the church internationally. Once again, the authors chose to emphasize the controversial rather than the routine, as this chapter focuses on T. Bowring Woodbury's mission presidency in London, England. Woodbury utilized motivational ideas from business incentive sales and his experiences as counselor to mission president Alvin R. Dyer in Independence, Missouri. His results were phenomenal but soon came under criticism, especially the program of enlisting young people to play on baseball teams and then baptizing them. President McKay supported the calling of Marion D. Hanks to England to realign the work there. The frustration a reader might face is that this story occupies the center of

the missionary chapter, leaving little space for less controversial missionary activities anywhere else in the world.

Perhaps the toughest chapter deals with McKay's strong support for the church building program. McKay, who had proselytized in Great Britain and saw the miserable facilities of the church there, and as a general authority had traveled worldwide and inspected missions in Polynesia and Africa and South America, knew that change needed to occur. He supported the appointment of Wendell B. Mendenhall to direct a major building program under the direction of McKay's counselor, Henry D. Moyle, and the missionary department. He was thrilled with the innovation of the building missionary program and felt the uplift of the hundreds of buildings that were completed.

Once again there were critics who pointed out that all this building was getting more expensive than the church could support. President McKay was sensitive to commitments made to people all over the world to bring them chapels and temples and schools. He did not want to reverse these promises. Eventually expenses got out of hand. The critics proved to be right and retrenchment was necessary. That led to the release of Mendenhall and an assignment change of Henry D. Moyle. It was a tough belt-tightening.

The book focuses on several other important issues: the delicate relationship between President McKay and the Catholic Bishop of Utah, Duane G. Hunt; the creation of a major media network for the church, Bonneville International, managed by Arch Madsen; the de-emphasis on the "gathering" message in Europe that had promoted emigration to the United States for a century, in favor of building stakes and wards around the world; the establishment of the correlation program under Harold B. Lee's guidance and limiting the independence of the auxiliaries (Relief Society, Primary, Sunday School, Young Men and Young Women Mutual Improvement Association); the involvement of the church in Utah politics on issues such as liquor by the drink and reapportionment; the Douglas Stringfellow expose; and national political matters such as the Union Shop and George Romney's presidential campaign.

The authors point out that President McKay's leadership style was most complex. His was a very long internship, observing three previous presidents before becoming president in 1951. He came to a clear conclusion of how he intended to lead. He wanted the widest possible spectrum within the church, an attitude of inclusiveness. Some have called it "from Sterling McMurrin to Joseph Fielding Smith," meaning from full-fledged liberals to orthodox conservatives.

Another dimension of McKay's leadership was to accept advice from many—not just the line authority system in the church. Time and again his official advisors, his counselors and the twelve apostles were frustrated to discover that their consensus did not lead to McKay's decision. Sometimes the decisions were remade. Often these remade decisions were a result of McKay wanting a wide spectrum of inclusiveness. One thing was very clear, McKay was in charge; he did allow people like Ernest Wilkinson and Ezra Taft Benson to trump others.

Is this story disturbing to the faithful? Not necessarily. Instead of examining McKay's great sermons, the authors have focused on decision-making, treating the process in a naturalistic manner. Rather than being a supportive, respectful story, this is a documented, issue-oriented study. It is not part of the old pro or con arguments. It is well beyond that. It is a tough-minded book instead of a laudatory one.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
Dixie State College

The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City. Edited by Larry R. Gerlach. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. vi + 330 pp. $32.50.)

THIS EDITED BOOK includes articles by well-known scholars who have written critically on the Olympic Games' movement. All of the chapters are well written and thoughtful. This collection of essays is the product of a lecture series hosted at the University of Utah during the months leading up to the 2002 Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City. In light of this historical context, the book has a distinct American bias. This is not necessarily a negative criticism of the editor or authors, but rather a comment on the inherent problem of writing enduring histories on the Olympic Games, summer or winter. Most of the themes and arguments are familiar. In most chapters, the authors have presented linear histories that address the "time tested and true" foundation of Olympic Games scholarship of the past two decades. Larry Gerlach's editorial decisions reflect the traditional historiography of the Olympic Games. At the same time, the volume acknowledges its editorial, geographical and historical context. The University of Utah's press is the publisher of this book, the same institution in which Dr. Gerlach is a professor. This context creates an awkward situation for Gerlach and most of the contributors: presenting a meaningful history of a serial event that is on the threshold of celebrating its next installment.

In predictable fashion, the volume begins with a general introduction to the origins of the Modern Olympic Movement. The second chapter offers a slim chronology of the Olympic Winter Games from 1924 to 1998. This chapter is already outdated as we anticipate the 2006 Olympic Winter Games in Turin, Italy. Other chapters trace the increasing role of women in the Olympic Movement, the rather mundane commercial function of selling television rights and corporate sponsorship, and the tenuous pretense of fusing the ideology of amateurism with Olympic Winter Games.

This volume also includes chapters that focus on the United States' and North America's relationships with the Olympic Winter Games. Mark Dyerson and Kevin Wamsley, respectively, describe the dominant narratives that have impacted the American and North American experiences of the Olympic Winter Games. Ironically, both authors reflect on the (more, rather than less) repetitive quality of

these histories. "When all of these engrossing plot lines (religious controversies, booze, irregularities in bid processes, overzealous civic boosters, hints of political corruption, backroom dealings, concerns over security, fears of excessive commercialism, etc.) are wrapped around a narrative core formed by the intense struggles of nations to assert the superiority of their ways of life through sport, they make for an event that even the least creative journalist in the modern world would have a hard time botching in the never-ending quest to capture the attention of the globe's information consumers"(185).

In general, this collection of essays hints at a rather bleak near future for Olympic Games' historiography. Indeed, historians can expect new material every two years. However, the overall merit of simply updating familiar arguments and all of the teleological micro-histories that are bound to the summer and winter Olympic Games is questionable. Although these comments are harsh, they are targeted at the genre of the publication and the current state of history on the Olympic Games rather than the quality of the individual contributions. Presently, the international community of scholars who study the Olympic Games operates like an amicably departmentalized ivy-league faculty. Each member is tenured with an established and respected area of expertise. Almost all of the authors in this volume have cornered the market on their respective fields of inquiry. This may prove to be a double edge sword when marketing this volume.

As a primer on historical issues related to the Olympic Winter Games, it is a tour de force. For undergraduate students or readers unfamiliar with the history of the Olympic Winter Games, the book presents good work by well-known historians in their respective areas of international expertise. For graduate students and professional historians, this volume offers very little in terms of fresh insight. Providing that the Olympic Winter Games continue for some time, I fear that edited books that attempt to synthesize the history of this international (global) phenomenon because of a temporary local investment will lose relevance as soon as the next edition of the Games is played out. However, this volume will offer its greatest contribution at a local level. It is a thoughtful and effective analysis of the Olympic Winter Games. Framed as it is, the book will certainly endure among students interested in the local and regional history of Salt Lake City and the State of Utah.

DOUGLAS A. BROWN
University of Calgary

Peaceful Painter: Memoirs of an Issei Woman Artist. By Hisako Hibi. (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2004. xiv + 75 pp. Paper, $20.00.)

HISAKO HIBI WAS AN ARTIST, Japanese immigrant, wife and mother, whose life was intersected by a war that ruptured her generation. Yet, her art, her com-

mitment to her family and her hopeful spirit gave her a balance that makes this memoir enjoyable to read.

The book melds the significant World War II history of the incarceration of 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry with Hibi's devotion to art.

Mrs. Hibi's story recounts the various difficulties a Japanese immigrant would have had to face upon arriving from Japan: button-on shoes and dresses that close in the back instead of the front, kimono style. Moreover, her parents returned to Japan leaving her, an eighteen-year old girl, to fend for herself while attending American schools and then an art school, where she met her husband, Matsusaburo Hibi.

Her account of the personal details of preparing for internment following Pearl Harbor, offers a counterpoint to her children's innocence regarding the situation. The couple disposes of all their household goods including an upright piano and other furniture for twenty-five dollars, and then moves to an assembly center, the Tanforan Race Track. Once there, the Hibis are one of the many unlucky families who are assigned a manure-soaked horse stall to live in, sleeping on cots and mattresses stuffed with hay. They endured these living conditions from May until September when the Topaz Internment Camp opened outside Delta, Utah.

It is in Tanforan that Chiura Obata, a former art instructor at the University of California Berkeley, Mr. Hibi and Miné Okubo begin an art school that attracts students young and old. (For more information on Obata read *Topaz Moon* by Kimi Kodani Hill or *Citizen 13660* for Okubo's story.)

In Topaz the family is assigned to block 16 barrack 7-F. That apartment would have been twenty by fifteen feet with four cots and no furniture. Each block had twelve barracks, a mess hall, latrine and recreation hall, housing about 250 internees for a total camp population over 8,100.

The Hibis continued painting and teaching. Mrs. Hibi documented in art the daily routine of the camp, including women bathing babies in the laundry area, winter scenes, sunsets, and Bon Odori festivals. Perhaps her most revered painting is called "Homage to Mary Cassett" showing a Japanese woman bathing a child with an internment camp potbellied stove in the background.

Life in camp takes on an unusual atmosphere with internees growing vegetable gardens, taking sewing and art classes, all within the confines of barbed wire fences and guard towers. In April 1943, James Wakasa, a sixty-year old man was shot and killed near the fence. After his death, soldiers were no longer issued ammunition for their guns, and people wandered in the desert looking for arrowheads and fossils. Later that year, army recruiters came to Topaz to convince young men to volunteer for the draft.

When the war ended, the family relocated to New York City, where Mr. Hibi died in 1947, and Hisako took a job as a seamstress. But she continued to study art, with her style changing from heavy shapes during camp, to forced, harsh figures. Once she and her daughter moved back to San Francisco her art became delicate, even whimsical.

Her background in Buddhism shapes the end of her story with a plea for peace and with the final admonition, "Art consoles the spirit, and it continues on in timeless time."

JANE BECKWITH
Topaz Museum
Delta, Utah

From Concentration Camp to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II. By Allan W. Austin. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004. xii + 237 pp., $40.00.)

IN *FROM CONCENTRATION CAMP TO CAMPUS* author Allan Austin addresses a lesser-known aspect of Japanese American internment. At a time when relatively few groups sought to help the Japanese, a number of students, educators, and religious leaders took an interest in the plight of incarcerated young people. Specifically, they sought to assist Nisei (second-generation Japanese American citizens) in pursuing higher education outside of the internment camps. To coordinate their efforts, they created the National Student Relocation Council whose basic tasks included convincing inland colleges to enroll qualified students, encouraging students to apply for admission, helping students obtain federal clearance to leave the camps, and raising funds for student attendance. In the end, the council successfully resettled nearly four thousand individuals in colleges and universities throughout the nation.

Few book-length studies have addressed student relocation in detail. Scholars writing on the subject have emphasized either the narrow institutional perspective of the council's history or the experiences of individual students who participated in the relocation program. Austin seeks to bridge the gap between these two approaches by combining them both into one study. Indeed, his goal is to explicitly connect, "the Nikkei college students to the government and the society with which they had to cope" (2). To that end, he draws from a variety of primary sources including federal government records, university archives, and personal papers.

The book is organized chronologically. Chapter one documents the creation of the council in the spring of 1942. Chapters two and three trace the first year of the council's activities, including the early challenges in dealing with recalcitrant officials of the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA). Chapters four and five explore the council's most successful years of student resettlement when refined programs and increased federal government cooperation allowed it to place thousands of Japanese American students. Chapter five also documents events leading up to the council's decision to cease operation in June of 1946. Finally, the conclusion examines critically the meaning of student relocation in terms of larger historical themes such as multiculturalism, acculturation, race, and agency.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is Austin's detailed exploration of divisions within the council. For example, he notes the way in which West Coast leaders, who witnessed first-hand the injustices endured by the Japanese, advocated a more aggressive and militant approach to resettlement, while East Coast leaders, who witnessed events from a distance, dealt with uncooperative federal military officials in a more submissive manner. These distinct leadership styles to resettlement created an internal feud that may have actually slowed down the council's effectiveness. At the same time, Austin astutely notes, such divisions proved crucial to the organization's overall success. The cooperative approach of East Coast leaders helped secure a positive relationship with the military while the aggressive style of the West Coast office helped motivate students within the camps.

Although the author's clear writing and engaging subject matter make the book accessible to a wide audience, scholars of Japanese American history may find the work lacking in terms of critical analysis. The work's final section, as previously noted, makes some important observations about student relocation in terms of key historical themes such as race and agency. But such observations are reserved almost exclusively for the conclusion. A serious scholar might appreciate greater development of these ideas throughout the monograph. Still, *From Concentration Camp to Campus* makes an interesting contribution to the history of the Japanese in the United States. It is thoroughly researched, clearly written, and it represents the most comprehensive study of this distinct historical event.

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Journeys in the Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona, 1914-1916. By George C. Fraser, edited by Frederick H Swanson. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2005. xxxviii + 224 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

THOSE WHO MIGHT OCCASIONALLY WONDER what tourism in the canyon country was like in the days before automobiles and other associated amenities came on the scene now have the ideal resource. This slim volume details three journeys made by George C. Fraser and his son, George, Jr., to the wilderness of southern Utah and northern Arizona with no other purpose in mind than seeing the country. In the company of experienced wilderness guide, David Rust, the Frasers visited Zion and the north rim of the Grand Canyon (1914), Utah's high plateaus (1915), and the Navajo Mountain country (1916). In this regard George Fraser was in the same company as other tourist notables of the Colorado Plateau, such as Charles Bernheimer, Teddy Roosevelt, and Zane Grey. The big difference, however, is that while these men wrote books and magazine articles directed at an eastern populace eager for tales of adventure in the Wild West, Fraser recorded his impressions in a daily journal intended for no eyes except his

own. As such, his words can be regarded as an unvarnished narration of every trial, hardship, and exhilaration that such trips necessarily involved, words set down without any consideration of what an adoring reading public might find interesting. Circumstance now finds Mr. Fraser's journal in the loving custody of the Princeton University Library, from which Frederick Swanson has brought us this edited and annotated transcript of Mr. Fraser's words.

George C. Fraser was a partner in a New York City law firm and called Morristown, New Jersey, home. An avid book collector, he had purchased and read the works of John Wesley Powell, Clarence Dutton, and G.K. Gilbert and found himself fascinated by the geology and the scenic possibilities of this still very pristine and wild corner of America. He had been to the south rim of the Grand Canyon in 1911, and had taken a mule ride down the Bright Angel Trail to the Colorado River. Now his soul burned with the desire to explore the much more wild and rugged country to the north and east. The three trips recorded in his journal were the result.

The journals record every detail imaginable: weather, barometric pressure, geology, scenery, condition of the horses, and even the times of sleep and awakening. Mr. Swanson has skillfully edited the journals, leaving enough of the details that we feel a real understanding of George Fraser's personality but focusing on the landscape and the travel narrative that make the journal such fascinating reading. Of particular interest are the characters that the Frasers meet along the way. We are introduced to Mormon farmers, forest rangers, schoolteachers, loggers, prospectors, Indian traders, and assorted odd characters that for one reason or another find themselves in this isolated and unforgiving country. Since the narrative is being set down with no intent of publication Mr. Fraser's observations are brutally honest, often tender and compassionate, and frequently hilarious.

Those who have been to all of the places described in this book will experience many moments of déjà vu. His narratives of traveling to Toroweap, Table Cliffs Plateau, and Rainbow Bridge, for example, are easily experienced in a similar fashion even today. Other locales, such as Grand Canyon's north rim and Monument Valley, have been substantially changed by the travel revolution that technology has bequeathed to us.

Frederick Swanson is to be commended for providing us with a well-edited and beautifully transcribed snapshot of a time when the Southwest was largely unmapped and little visited. This work should be on the bookshelf of everyone who loves and cherishes what remains of this magnificent corner of the American wilderness.

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Faith and Betrayal: A Pioneer Woman's Passage in the American West.

By Sally Denton. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. xviii + 216 pp. $23.00.)

FAITH AND BETRAYAL tells the story of Jean Rio Baker, an Englishwoman who converted to Mormonism and immigrated to Utah in the early 1850s. The main primary source material for any understanding of Mrs. Baker's life is her emigrant journal. The journal itself covers an emigration period of nine months, is largely silent for the eighteen years that Mrs. Baker was in Utah, contains an entry at the end of that period alluding to Mrs. Baker's economic and religious disappointment during her time in Utah, and ends with a few entries made after she settled in California with other family members. Mrs. Baker's journal has been excerpted or included in several anthologies and collections, including *Saints without Halos* and *Audacious Women*.

As a literary and historical document, Mrs. Baker's journal stands on its own, and a book-length treatment of her life would seem to be of questionable value absent the discovery or production of additional primary source material. However, Sally Denton provides little in the way of scholarship or original research in her book. Ms. Denton states at the outset her frustration that the LDS church has gotten so much mileage out of the journal as a representation of the Mormon emigrant experience while failing to give equal billing to the "loss of faith" portion that is the crux of Ms. Denton's book. She adds that the purpose of her book is to "restore" Mrs. Baker's voice that the LDS church has "distorted."

Unfortunately, what the reader hears more often than not is Ms. Denton's voice, a voice that oftentimes is not only unsupported by the historical record, but also is contrary to it in many respects. Not content with providing a running paraphrase of Mrs. Baker's journal, Ms. Denton cannot resist padding the journal to make Mrs. Baker a more active participant in the events described in the journal. However, Ms. Denton's use of dramatic license becomes more problematic in relation to the absence of journal entries during Mrs. Baker's time in Utah. Based on the one journal entry expressing Mrs. Baker's disappointment with life as it turned out in Utah, Ms. Denton attempts to detail the course of Mrs. Baker's disillusionment. Ms. Denton attributes very specific attitudes and beliefs to Mrs. Baker that find no support in the record: in Ms. Denton's telling, Mrs. Baker is personally repulsed by and vehemently opposed to polygamy, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the Mormon doctrine of salvation, the Mormon principle of consecration, etc. Ms. Denton explains away Mrs. Baker's actual silence on any one of these topics by asserting that the atmosphere in nineteenth-century Mormon society was so repressive that a freethinking woman like Mrs. Baker was sufficiently intimidated from confiding her innermost thoughts to her private journal. With this sleight of hand, Ms. Denton effectively turns Mrs. Baker into an empty vessel onto which Ms. Denton can project her personal objections to the Mormon religion and experience as well as many of her late twentieth-century sensibilities. Yet, Ms.

Denton represents Mrs. Baker's undocumented feelings and views on particular items with such certainty and specificity that one wonders whether Ms. Denton is channeling Mrs. Baker's spirit.

Many of Ms. Denton's factual assertions about Mrs. Baker's life and family are demonstrably false. Key among these is her portrayal of Mrs. Baker and several of Mrs. Baker's children's removal to California as a calculated and dangerous "escape from Mormonism." The journal itself makes clear that Mrs. Baker accompanied a sick friend to California as a personal nurse, and had intended to return to Utah but was persuaded by her resident son to stay in California. Ms. Denton supports her "escape" storyline by vague references to family history or tradition, but only ends up contradicting herself. For instance, she claims that certain of Mrs. Baker's sons previously fled Utah for California under cover of night in order to avoid Mormon assassin squads. Her purported source for this assertion is unidentified California Baker descendants. Yet later on, Ms. Denton asserts that those same descendants had no knowledge that their ancestors were either Mormon or had come to California by way of Utah. Further, LDS Endowment House records show that one of the "escaping" Baker sons was back in Utah several years later receiving his Mormon endowment ordinance. The journal itself indicates that the sons left for economic, not religious reasons. In this, as in other significant instances (beyond the limited scope of this review), Ms. Denton ignores contrary facts that do not advance her pre-determined storyline.

The book in part appears to be a vehicle for the author to expound on nineteenth-century Mormon society. Ms. Denton goes beyond critical examination to demonstrate an unveiled contempt for all aspects of Mormon history, experience and belief, as well as a superficial and incomplete understanding of them. The factual mistakes are numerous and fundamental. She is unable to concede any good-faith aspects or motivations to either the religious system or its actors, and her nineteenth-century Utah is populated almost exclusively by abusive manipulators or easily led dupes. This is due in large part to her uncritical reliance on the sensationalistic, anti-Mormon literature of the era.

In the end, Ms. Denton's book is not so much history as it is a polemic, at times veering off into the realm of historical fiction. There is little to no original scholarship evident. Ms. Denton relies on secondary or tertiary sources, freely projects or psychologizes, asserts unverifiable or suspect facts, and refers to non-cited or unidentified "family members" as sources. In other words, an independent researcher would be at a loss to verify or fact check Ms. Denton's narrative as it applies to Mrs. Baker, and would have to duplicate Ms. Denton's original research, such as it is, from scratch. Those readers interested in Mrs. Baker's life and journal would be better served by reading Mrs. Baker's account in her own words, which are more engaging in any case, rather than having it filtered and skewed by a compromised intermediary.

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Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park.

By Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xvii + 381 pp. $39.95.)

WHEN I FIRST BEGAN TO CONDUCT archaeological investigations in Yellowstone in 1989, I was confronted with the view that my work was not necessary since Indians were never a part of our first national park—being terrified of the geysers. This concept was not isolated, but was well grounded in the lore among visitors and members of the National Park Service. The publication of *Restoring a Presence* should finally put to rest this enduring myth. The archaeological record indicates that Native American groups have been part of what is now Yellowstone National Park for over ten thousand years, and while the archaeological record is often discussed, the main focus of Nabokov and Loendorf's research is the ethnographic record and ethno-history of Native American use of the region. They accomplish this important task through myriad sources from the files of the Yellowstone National Park office to the National Archives to interviews with contemporary members of regional tribes. While the concept of our national parks was a bold and noble one, it came at a high cost to members of the Native American community, characterized by anthropologists as "green imperialism." Nabokov and Loendorf provide us with a historical context for this complex aspect of the national park story.

The research for this book was initiated in 1994 as part of the National Park Service's Ethnography Program, to provide an overview of the role of Native Americans in the Yellowstone region. This research is an essential contribution to the growing body of literature on native peoples and their relationship to national parks and preserves. Nabokov and Loendorf are well suited to the task. Nabokov has extensive ethnographic and ethno-historical experience among North American tribes, while Loendorf has been conducting archaeological research in the region for four decades, most notably on northern Plains rock art sites.

Yellowstone National Park was created in 1872 during a period of conflict between northern Plains tribes and the U.S. Army—it would be four more years before the Battle of the Little Bighorn was fought. This was a tumultuous period for northern Plains tribes who were under extreme pressures from a diminishing fur trade, expansion of miners, settlers, cattle ranching, and railroads into their territories, treaties, and the creation of the reservation system, plus expanded conflict among the tribes for shrinking resources. Exclusion from Yellowstone National Park was another aspect. For example, the Crow were officially estranged from Yellowstone under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. And in 1886, when the U.S. Army took over administrative control of the park, along with preventing poachers from killing animals and keeping "Indian marauders" away. Even the U.S. Supreme Court weighed in providing state and federal authorities the power to keep Indians on reservations and out of public lands, such as Yellowstone National

Park. While it is unfortunate that it has taken this long for a formal recognition that native peoples have been an intimate part of the ecosystem, *Restoring a Presence* takes an important leap in explaining the historical circumstances of this process.

The authors dedicate five chapters to tribes with historic and contemporary ties to Yellowstone—Crow, Blackfeet, Flathead, Sheep Eaters, Bannock and Nez Perce, and Shoshone. Each chapter provides a discussion of the tribes' arrival in the region based upon archaeological, historic, and ethnographic evidence. The discussions also include information on seasonal use of Yellowstone for various social, spiritual and economic purposes. Despite being excluded from Yellowstone for over one hundred years, tribal members often have had profound, behind-the-scenes impacts on our heritage. For example, Nabokov and Loendorf relate how the North American bison was arguably saved from extinction through the efforts of Pend d'Oreille (Sam) Walking Coyote, half-Piegan Michael Pablo, and part-Indian Charles A. Allard. This tradition has continued with the formation of the Intertribal Bison Cooperative in response to the "buffalo crisis" in Yellowstone.

This is an important book for scholars and interested persons of the complicated and interwoven history of Native Americans, the Euro American settlement of the west, and the nascent years of the world's first national park and the conservation movement. A postscript to Nabokov and Loendorf's work is the expanding role of native groups in the management and interpretation of Yellowstone's cultural and natural resources.

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